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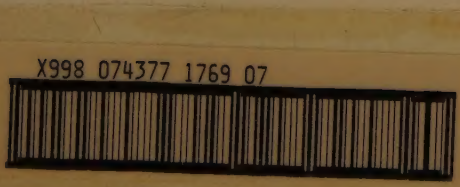

HISTORY

OF

DUDLEY CASTLE

AND

PRIORY,

INCLUDING A GENEALOGICAL ACCOUNT OF THE FAMILIES OF SUTTON AND WARD.

BY

CHARLES TWAMLEY.

"Gray walls moulder round, on which dull Time
Feeds like slow fire upon a hoary brand."
—SHELLEY.

LONDON:
JOHN RUSSELL SMITH,
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PREFACE.

The history of the castle of my native town has long been to me a source of interest, and for some time past I have collected all the information respecting it, within my reach.

In the pursuit, I met with much that was new and interesting; and, believing that what has been a source of pleasure and amusement to myself, would interest others, I now submit the results to the public.

In the accounts of the Sutton family I found much confusion and contradiction. In the early part of the sixteenth century, Edward and John Sutton, father and son, who at this time had taken the name of Dudley, becoming much involved in debt, sold, at different times, the extensive estates which they inherited, and lived in considerable poverty and obscurity. The powerful family of the Dudleys, descended from the Duke of Northumberland, yearning for the prestige which a connexion with the territorial aristocracy gives to the aspirants to court favours, and endeavouring to deduce their descent from this family of the Suttons, with which, I believe, they are not in any way connected, have greatly added to the confusion.

By gleaning from the various antiquarian works, and County histories, such facts only as were based

upon some satisfactory authority, and rejecting such statements as merely rested upon anonymous pedigrees, and heraldic collections, I have succeeded in clearing up many doubtful points in the history of the family, and correcting the mistakes of previous writers.

The many recent publications of letters written during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; and the printing of the letters and documents preserved in our State Paper and Record Offices, under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, and other sources, have furnished much additional information, and thrown light upon many previously obscure parts of the history. But much yet remains to be done ere all difficulties will disappear. The better to explain the grounds of my several statements, besides the names of the authors from whose works I have taken them, I have added the original authorities upon which they relied.

The dates in the more ancient authorities are those of the regnal years of the different sovereigns; and I have found great convenience in adding the dominical years in brackets. Believing that these second dates would be found equally advantageous to the reader I have here printed them. As, however, the different kings commenced their reigns at different periods of the year, it is evident the regnal years will be comprised in two dominical ones, and thus the added year will not always be quite correct; but the advantages of the plan more than compensate

for this inaccuracy. When the date is more specific, as when the day of the month is given, or the Feast day of a Saint, which was not an infrequent method of dating ancient documents, the added year is correct.

Since the following pages were printed, it has been announced that the Countess of Dudley gave birth to a son and heir on Saturday morning, May 25, 1867; and in the same month, the Rev. Thomas Leigh Claughton, who married the Hon. Miss Ward, was appointed Bishop of Rochester.

As the estates descended, either by inheritance or marriage, uninterruptedly, from the Conquest, until the present times, except upon two occasions when they were wrested from the family owners for a short time, but were soon restored to them, we have a kind of social history of the country during the period. Fitz Ausculf receiving from the lavish hand of the Conqueror vast estates taken from the defeated Saxons, and the Paganels bestowing with almost as free a hand, many of the manors in the founding of religious houses. The Someries, more secure in their titles, occupying themselves in hunting and field sports, and quarrelling about their forest rights and boundaries, whilst they contented themselves in benefitting the church by the sums they expended in the purchase of Indulgences. The Suttons, still more secure in the title to their lands, evading their feudal duties, and obtaining annuities and pecuniary grants from the crown, for their military services;

whilst the wars of the roses unsettled and demoralised society, and the needy nobles, instead of receiving estates and pecuniary grants, became the borrowers of loans, from their thrifty sovereigns, and money lenders; and, ultimately, were glad to sell their estates to supply their increasing necessities; and the unsettled times of the early Tudor sovereigns afforded opportunities to crafty adventurers of obtaining the estates of the ancient nobility.

After the stormy period of the civil war, the gradual supremacy of law, and consequent security of property, established the family of the Wards as respectable country gentlemen: acting as county magistrates, and occasionally representing the county or some neighbouring borough in Parliament, and in due time taking their seats among the peers of the realm.

Whilst the mouldering walls of the old castle and priory are suggestive of such feelings as are so well expressed by Hartley Coleridge:—

> Hast thou not seen an aged rifted tower,
> Meet habitation for the Ghost of Time,
> Where fearful ravage makes decay sublime,
> And destitution wears the face of power?
> Yet is the fabric deck'd with many a flower
> Of fragrance wild, and many-dappled hue,
> Gold, streak'd with iron-brown, and nodding blue,
> Making each ruinous chink a fairy bower.

C. T.

London,
May, 1867.

DUDLEY CASTLE.

"There is given
Unto the things of earth, which time hath bent,
A spirit's feeling: and where he hath leant
His hand, but broke his scythe, there is a power
And magic in the ruin'd battlement,
For which the palace of the present hour
Must yield its pomp, and wait 'till ages are its dower."

Byron.

THE town of Dudley occupies part of the central watershed of England; the waters, on the one side, running through the rivers Tame and Trent into the German Ocean, and on the other side, through the rivers Stour and Severn into the Bristol Channel. The land being thus elevated, with a cold stiff clay soil, was comparatively sterile, covered with brambles, rushes, and other plants common to poor soils. Hence, different parts of this barren ridge received such names as the "Dodd-ley," or rushy field, from the Keltic word "Dodd," a rush or flag,* and -ley, which

* The Rev. C. H. Hartshorn suggests that the prefix "Dud" to the names of places appears to denote their lying on the borders of some particular county; and gives, as the probable derivation, the Keltic "tuedd," *extremitas fines*, and enumerates many places so situated, [Salopia Antiqua, London, 1841]. I think the derivation in the text preferable. The sterile nature of rushy ground, would account for its later occupation, and subsequently becoming the boundary between the more fertile districts. See note A.

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generally means an open field or large pasture; and Sedg-ley, or the sedgy field, and Row-ley or the stony field. The poverty of this ridge also accounts for the curious interlacing of the different counties of Salop, Stafford, Worcester, and Warwick, which is here observable. The parish of Dudley is an island of Worcestershire, being entirely surrounded by Staffordshire: Sedgley and Rowley lying on either side of it, being in the latter county: whilst next to Rowley is Oldbury, lying, until recently, in Shropshire; next which is Smethwick in Staffordshire; which is followed by Birmingham in Warwickshire. The owners of land in the more fertile vales on each side of the ridge, as population increased and good land became scarce, would occupy different portions of the less fertile, and would attach them to the same counties in which their other possessions lay, where they rendered their feudal services. A landowner of Worcestershire would occupy the site of the town of Dudley, and hence, it would be attached to, and form part of that county; whilst another from Staffordshire would occupy Rowley, which would thus form part of that county.

It would, however, be a fine field for the chase, the chief amusement in early days; and at the Conquest, one of the Norman followers of William built a castle here, and obtained upwards of forty-four of the surrounding manors. There are two unfounded traditions attributing an earlier date. The earliest is

mentioned by Camden, who gives no authority, that Doddo or Dodo, a Mercian duke, erected a castle here about the year 700.* The other tradition, equally unsupported by evidence, makes the original foundation of the Castle about 300 years later. It states that the place was named after a noble Saxon, whose name is variously spelt "Dud, Duds, Dudde, and Dodo," earl of Coventry, Somerie, and Arden, who married Effrie, daughter of Edmund Ironside, king of England, by whom he had a son, Athelstan; who built the Castle of Dudley.† The Habingdon MSS. quoted by Dr. Nash, says:—"Dodo, the famous Saxon, raised a strong fortification here, which remained till the conquest;"—still no authority is given, nor any date.‡

The Domesday survey states that earl Edwin held this lordship in Edward the Confessor's reign. This, no doubt, was the celebrated earl of Mercia. He was allowed to retain his estates and dignities after the battle of Hastings; but being betrayed and slain, after an unsuccessful rising against the Conqueror in 1071, his estates were distributed amongst the Norman followers of William; and Dudley lordship was bestowed on William Fitz-Ausculf, or Ausculf, who possesssed it when the Domesday survey was

* Camden's Britannia. In voce Staffordshire.

† Payton's History of Dudley Castle; and Shaw's Staffordshire, vol 2.

‡ Nash's Worcestershire, vol. 1. See note B.

made. It is therein stated that "the said William holds Dudley, and there is his castle." *

From the extent of his possessions, Ausculf was a great man in those days. Besides 25 manors in Staffordshire, 14 in Worcestershire, and 5 in Warwickshire, all lying within a distance of eight miles of the castle, he had 47 in other counties. This, however, is all the evidence of his greatness which remains. "Whether he had issue or not," saith Dugdale, "or what became of him, I could never discover." †

> Where are the heroes of the ages past?
> Where the brave chieftains,—where the mighty ones
> Who flourished in the infancy of days?
> All to the grave gone down. On their fallen fame
> Exulting, mocking at the pride of man,
> Sits grim forgetfulness! H. K. WHITE.

It is thought probable that he left a daughter, who married one of the Paganels, whereby his vast estates went into that family. ‡ Whatever truth there may be in this surmise, it is certain that Fulke Paganel possessed a great portion of his lands, and with part of them, founded a monastery near Newport. ||

Fulke was succeeded by Ralph, his son, who, during the civil war between the empress Maud and king Stephen, was a partizan of the former.

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* The Domesday survey was begun about the 14th year of Will. 1,, A.D. 1080. See Dug. Warw.

† Dug. Bar., vol. 1, pp. 431.

‡ See note by Smyth, in Harwood's edit. of Erdeswick's History of Staffordshire, and Collins's Peerage, vol. 6.

|| Dug. Bar.

In 1138 (3rd Steph.), he held the castle of Dudley for her; and in July or August in that year, Stephen marched to it, burnt and plundered the neighbourhood, and then marched off to attack Shrewsbury.* In the 5th Steph. (1140), the empress made him governor of Nottingham castle, when he instigated Robert earl of Gloucester to enter the town, which, the inhabitants being destitute of defensive arms, was miserably plundered and burnt by the soldiers. Afterwards, he piously intended, for the good of his soul, to found a monastery at Dudley.†

Ralph left six sons, the eldest of whom, Gervase, succeeded to his piety and property. He founded a priory at Dudley in pursuance of his father's intention, about 1161, and, in the unnatural rebellion of prince Henry against his father, Hen. II. in 1175, he supported the young prince. For which offence his castle was demolished, as were those of others, who had done the like, and all his lands and goods were forfeited to the crown; but the next year (22 H. II.), the king

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* Dugdale erroneously states that it was Gervase, the son of Ralphe, who held the castle for the Empress. It was evidently Ralph, who was appointed by her Governor of Nottingham Castle in 5 Steph. (1140), and in the year following (1141), he is among the witnesses to a grant by Matilda of the earldom of Hereford. (See Rymer's Fœdera, vol. 1, p. 14) The Rev. W. Eyton, also says it was Ralph; and he points out that Duchesne, in his *Chronica Normanniæ*, erroneously attributes this visitation of Stephen to Ludlow, instead of to "Duddelæye" castle. [See Eyton's Antiquities of Shropshire, vol. 5, p. 245.]

† Dug. Bar.

received 500 marks as a peace offering for that transgression.*

Upon the assessment of the aid for marrying the king's daughter in 12 H. II. (1166), Gervase returned 56 knights' fees and a third part. The lord of Birmingham manor was the first of his vassals, and held nine of these fees by military service, and, though a man of great property waited at his table as sewer.†

By his wife Isabell, daughter of the earl of Leicester, he had a son, Robert, who died in his lifetime; and a daughter, Hawyse, who survived and became his heir. She first married John de Somery, by which means, Dudley, with other lands of great extent, went to Ralph de Somery, her son and heir. In 6 Rich. I. (1194), he accounted CCC marks, for livery of the barony of Gervase Paganel, his grandfather, until the king's return out of Almaine; and died in 12 Joh. (1208), whereupon, Margaret, his widow, gave to the king a fine of CCC marks to have an assignation of her dowrie.‡

He was succeeded by William, his son and heir, who, being in his minority, was in ward for his barony, which was then reduced, by what means does not appear, to 10 knights' fees and three parts. He was called William Perceval de Somery, and died

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* Dug. Bar.

† Lansdown MSS., 269, Fo. 170 A, and Dug. Warw.

‡ Dug. Bar. See note C post.

in 6 H. III. (1222), when the wardship of Nicholas de Sumeri his heir was committed to Ranulph, earl of Chester; and this Nicholas dying without issue in 13 H. III. (1229), his inheritance went to his uncle Roger de Someri.*

When this Roger, in 17 H. III. (1233), was summoned to receive the honour of knighthood, he, wishing to avoid the extortion practised upon such occasions, neglected or refused to appear:—whereupon his barony and lands were seized by the king. The writ is preserved in Madox's History of the Exchequer, and in English runs thus:—

"Because Roger de Someri, at the feast of Pentecost last past, has not appeared before the king to be girded with the military girdle, the Sheriff of Worcestershire is hereby commanded to seize on the house of Dudley and all other lands of the said Roger within his jurisdiction, for the king's use; and to keep them with all the cattle found upon them, so that nothing may be moved off without the king's permission. Witness, the King, at Wenlock," &c. †

In the 29 H. III. (1244), he was again in possession, as he paid £51. for 51 knights' fees, which he then had, upon the aid for marrying the king's daughter. ‡

In 34 H. III. (1249), a dispute arose between him and William de Birmingham, touching the service

* Dug. Bar.
† Grose's Antiquities, vol. 3.
‡ Dug. Bar.

due for the manor of Birmingham, for which the latter was required to perform the service of eight knights' fees, a half and a fourth part, and also to do suit to the court at Dudley once every three weeks. This dispute lasted until 46 H. III. (1261), when an agreement was made that Will. de Birmingham should do service for so many knights' fees as aforesaid, and appear at the court at Dudley only twice every year; and also on some special occasions therein mentioned. Upon which agreement Roger de Someri released to him his suit of court from three weeks to three weeks.*

About the year 1261, Roger de Someri began to make a castle of his manor house at Dudley, but was then prohibited by the king to proceed thereon without his special licence. Two years afterwards, however, upon his adhering to the king during a rebellion of the barons, he had licence to make a castle of his manor house there, and the like of his manor of Weoleigh. And the same year, fighting stoutly for the king in the battle of Lewes, was there taken prisoner.†

In September 1267, Henry III. appointed him and two others his commissioners, to complete the peace with Llewellin, Prince of Wales,‡ and he died in 1. E. I. an. 1273.

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* Dug. Warw. pp. 656, 657.

† Dug. Bar.

‡ Harwood's Erdeswick's Staff., edit. 1844.

He was succeeded by a second Roger, his son and heir, by Amabell, his second wife, being then 18 years of age; and upon his death in 19 E. I., Roger, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, granted a special indulgence of 40 days of their enjoined penance to all such as being truly confessed and contrite, should devoutly say a Pater Noster and an Ave for his soul in the conventual church at Dudley, where he was interred. *

A third Roger, the son and heir of the second, succeeded him, who was then 12 years of age. His wardship was committed to John de St. John, and he died in the year 1300 (28 E. I.), and was buried in the priory church. His death occurred in the great year of Jubilee, instituted by Pope Boniface VIII to replenish the exhausted papal treasury, by the sale of indulgences upon an enormous scale. And an indulgence of 40 days was obtained upon the occasion, from Basil, of Jerusalem, and other foreign prelates, to all who should say the Lord's Prayer, and Angelical salutation for the soul of this Roger de Someri.*

He was succeeded by his brother John, who was

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* Dug. Bar. and Mon. Angl. Dugdale states that these two Indulgences related to the first Roger, who died in 1273. But they, no doubt, belonged to the second and third Rogers; as the first is dated at the time of the death of the second, and the other at the year of the decease of the third. For a curious account of the fanatical proceedings of the Jubilee, see Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

not of age, in 28 E. I. (1300); but was knighted in 34 E. I. (1305), with prince Edward and many others. He was a knight of great energy and consideration in those days, having been, between the years 1300 and 1312, seven times in the Scottish wars. He was, too, a turbulent neighbour; as it was reported of him that he did so domineer in Staffordshire that no man could enjoy the benefit of law or reason, taking upon him more authority than a king. That it was no abiding for any man thereabouts unless they did bribe him in contributing largely towards the building of his castle at Dudley. And that he did use to beset men's houses, in that country, threatening to murther them, except they gave what he would demand.

> In proud state
> Each robber chief upheld his armed halls,
> Doing his evil will, nor less elate
> Than mightier heroes of a longer date.
>
> BYRON.

In 4 E. II. (1310), however, John de Someri complained to the king, that Will. de Bereford and others had highly scandalised him by spreading the above reports. Whereupon the king issued a commission to enquire thereof, and, if the words were proved, then to find out whether he were really guilty of those misdemeanors, and to certify the truth therein. The result of the commission unfortunately appears not, saith Dugdale.*

* Dug. Warw.

In 15 E. II. (1321), upon the execution of the earl of Lancaster, he was commissioned jointly with Raphe lord Basset, to seize his castle of Kenilworth; but he died before the end of that year, without issue; leaving Margaret, then the wife of John de Sutton, 32 years of age; and Joane, the wife of Thomas Botetort, 29 years of age, his sisters and coheiresses. Upon the partition of his inheritance, Margaret had for her share the castle of Dudley, with the manor of Sedgley, chase of Pensnet, and manor of New Swinford Regis, in Staffordshire, and the town of Dudley in Worcestershire. *

In the reign of Elizabeth, the powerful earls of Warwick and Leicester, affecting to be connected with these Suttons, although probably the descendants of a Dudley mechanic, "the most learned and expert genealogists of that age, spared not their endeavours to magnify this family;" and great was the controversy as to its original extraction. Dugdale sets this question at rest, and proves that these Suttons were descended from the Suttons of Nottinghamshire, by an extract from a deed bearing date at Dudley, 12 E. III. (1338), wherein John, the son of him who married Margaret de Somery, styles himself "John, the son of John de Sutton upon Trent, the lord of Dudley."

John de Sutton and his wife were destined to enjoy these estates for a short time only. For Hugh

* Dug. Bar.

le Despencer, son of the earl of Winchester, and the rapacious and insolent minion of Edward II, casting a wistful eye upon this fair domain, accused John de Sutton of aiding the earl of Lancaster in his late rebellion, threw him into prison, and threatened him with death. To extricate himself from the snares of this wily favourite, he, by deed dated at Westminster, 12th of October, 1325 (19 E. II.), passed away to him all his right and title to the castle, manor, and township of Dudley, as also to the manors of Sedgley, and New Swinford, and other his manors, lands, and tenements.*

When Despencer was taken prisoner, and summarily executed, or rather, murdered by the rebellious barons, the custody of Dudley Castle was committed to William de Birmingham, he having to answer for the profits thence arising, unto the king's exchequer. When, however, he took in his account, the treasurer and barons refused to admit it, because he had made defalcations of such charges as had been paid to the porter and watchman of the castle, and to the foresters and keepers of the chase of Pensnett, and also to the parks of Dudley, Sedgley, and the Old Park pertaining to the castle. This account was kept open until 7 E. III. (1333), when de Birmingham had the address to obtain a special *mandamus* from the king to the treasurer and barons, commanding them to let it pass.†

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* Dug. Bar. † Dug. Warw.

John de Sutton, having been plundered as an adherent of the earl of Lancaster, upon the accession of his party to power, in 1 Edw. III. (1327), obtained restitution of all his estates and dignities.*

He was succeeded by John, his son and heir, who, in 12 Ed. III. (1338), as is before mentioned, by his deed styled himself, "John, the son of John de Sutton, upon Trent, the lord of Dudley." This second John, died in 33 E. III. (1359), seized of the town and castle of Dudley, and the manors of Sedgley, Himley, Penne, and others, leaving John, his son and heir, of full age; and Isabella, his wife, daughter of Sir John de Cherleton, lord of Powis, surviving.†

He was succeeded by this third John, who married Joan, daughter of John de Clinton, of Coleshill, and died towards the latter part of the reign of Edw. III., leaving his son and heir, John, under age, and Joan, his wife, surviving. ‡

The wardship and marriage of this fourth John,

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* [Claus. 1. E. III., p. 1, m. 7. Dug. Bar]. Dugdale in his Warwickshire, erroneously concludes that the custody of the castle, was not out of the hands of de Birmingham when he obtained the mandamus in 7 E. III. From the evidence of the Close Rolls, quoted in his Baronage, it is evident that de Sutton recovered all his property in 1 E. III.

† [Esc. 34 E. III. m. 19. Dug. Bar.]

‡ His widow, in 45 E. III. (1271), being then married to Sir Henry Griffiths, her third husband, held the lordship of Coleshill, and entailed it upon her issue by him; and for lack of such issue, upon John, the son of Sir John de Sutton, and the heirs of his body, with divers other remainders. [F. levat., 45 E. III. Dug. Warw.]

were granted by the Crown to the earl of Arundel, and, by him, in 5 Ric. II. (1381), sold for 350 marks, to Sir Philip le Despencer, knight, lord of Carlyngton,* who, having a marriageable daughter, named Alice, thus provided her with a husband.† She died without issue; and he married a second time, Constance, daughter of Sir Walter Blount, knt., ‡ and, dying in 8 H. IV. (1406), seized of the same barony, manors, and land as his father, left John, being the fifth in succession of the same name, his son and heir, five years of age, surviving. §

This fifth John, having considerable energy of character and pliancy of principle, greatly increased the possessions of his family. In the early part of his life, being a stout Lancastrian, he was in the French wars with King Henry V., and carried the standard at his funeral (ann. 1422). In 2 H. VI. (1423), being a knight, he bore the title of baron of Dudley, and, in 6 H. VI. (1427), was constituted Lieutenant of Ireland for two years.‖ He was three times employed as ambassador, to treat with the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany; and, in the 29th year of the same reign (1451), being surprised at

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* [Ex. coll. R. Glover. Som. See Dug. Bar.]

† Blore's Rutlandsire, p. 206; and Baker's Northamptonshire, vol 1, p. 470.

‡ Harl. MSS., No. 6182; Blore's Rutl., p. 206; and Baker's North., vol 1. p. 470.

§ [Esc. 8. H. IV., n. 46. Dug. Bar.]

‖ [Pat. 6. H. IV., p. 2. m. 20. Dug. Bar.]

Gloucester by Richard, Duke of York, (at that time returning out of Ireland), he was sent prisoner to the castle of Ludlow.* How long he remained there does not appear; but in the same year, the House of Commons, where the York faction predominated, petitioned the king, praying him to remove certain persons, and among them, Sir John Sutton, lord Dudley, for ever from his person and counsels; and to prohibit them from approaching within twelve miles of the court.† The king resisted this petition, and de Sutton, continuing his exertions in his favour, was at the first battle of St. Albans, fought on 23rd May, 1455, when the Duke of York defeated the king and took him prisoner. He shared the same fate, as we are informed by a letter of that period, that "the baron of Dudley is in the Tower, what shall become of him God wot,"—and also that "the baron of Dudley hath impeached many men; but what they be as yet we cannot weet."‡ He was doubtless released upon the pacification which ensued shortly afterwards.

He was soon again in arms for the Lancastrian monarch, and was at the battle of Bloreheath, in the year 1459 (38 H. VI.) The following is Leland's quaint account of this affair. "At Blorehethe, was

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* [Stow's Annals Dug. Bar.]

† Hume's History of England.

‡ Paston Letters, edited by John Fenn, new edit. by A. Ramsay, London, 1840.

a feelde faught betweene the Earl of Saresbyri, and northern men on King Edward's parte," who "overcam the lordes Audeley (slain) and Dudley (wounded) with Queen Margaret and Chestershire men, who lost the feld."* Mr. Brookes states, that lord Dudley and several knights and gentlemen of the Lancastrian party were taken prisoners.† For these services he obtained the stewardship of the manors of Montgomery, and other places, and four grants of money, amounting altogether to £210 per annum for his life. Henry, also appointed him treasurer of his household,‡ and in 1460 (39 H. VI.) he was elected one of the knight's companions of the most noble order of the Garter.§

Although thus favoured by the Lancastrian monarch, he succeeded equally well with his York opponent and successor. "Though," as Dugdale quaintly observes, "he was thus faithful to King Henry the 6th, yet he did so comply with King Edward the 4th, when he obtained the crown, that, in the first year of his reign, he obtained pardon of all such debts upon accompt as were due from him by reason of his exercise" of the office of treasurer of the household. And in the 4th year of his reign (1464), in considera-

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* Leland's Itinerary, vol. 7, p. 20.

† Brookes's visits to Fields of Battle in England of the 15th Century.

‡ Dug. Bar.

§ Antis's Register of the Garter. See Biog. Brit., vol. 5.

tion of his integrity to him, as also for his diligence and great expenses in his service, Edward granted him 100 marks annually, and in the year following, another yearly sum for life, of £100. sterling.*

The unfortunate Edward V. appointed him to hold the Feast of St. George at Windsor, on the 4th of May, 1483, when the day of his coronation was fixed upon.† No sooner, however, was he removed from the scene, than de Sutton attended a chapter of the order held in Richard III.'s palace at Westminster, in the first year of his reign; ‡ at which time he obtained from him a grant of the manor of Darlaston and seven other manors, "for his faithful service in favouring his title to the crown."§ But this became inoperative, as Henry VII., by an act passed in the first year of his reign, resumed all grants made by the Crown since 34 Hen. VI. (an. 1456). ‖ And he, no doubt availed himself of the general amnesty then passed in favour of all such of Richard's adherents, who would submit and take the new oath of allegiance, as he, not only retained all his family estates, but, in 1496, obtained a grant from Hen. VII. "for the sum of M^{l}. marke paid him," of the manors of Northfield and Weley, in Com. Worcester, to be held to him, and "to the heires males of his body coming." Which said

* Dug. Bar.
† Liber Niger, ordin Priscil. See Biog. Brit., voce "Dudley"
‡ Antis's Reg. of the Garter. See Biog. Brit.
§ Dug. Warw., p. 17 a.
‖ Pictorial Hist. of England.

manors were then vested in the crown by the attainder for treason of Sir William Berkeley, knt.* He died in the 3rd year of Hen. VII.'s reign; for the Feast of St. George (13th April, 1488), being held with extraordinary solemnity, and offerings then made for the knight's companions deceased, his sword was offered by the earl of Shrewsbury and the lord Denham.†

By his will, dated the 17th August, 1487, he directed "his carcass to be buried within the Priory of St. James, in Dudley, by his wife, and to have such a tomb made over them both, as should be devised in picture, supposing that it should be to the cost of £20. or under." After appointing the number of torches to be burnt at his funeral, he directed 1000 masses to be said for him as soon as might be possible after his burying, which should cost £16. 13*s.* 4*d.*‡

By his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Berkeley, and widow of lord Powis, he had a son, Edmund, who died in his lifetime.§ This Edmund, left issue by Joice, his first wife, two sons, Edward and John, and a daughter:‖ and by his second wife, Maud, two sons and four daughters.*

* Stat. 11 Hen. VII. c. 47, comprised in "Statutes of the Realm, printed by command of His Majesty, King Geo. III., vol 2, 1816."

† Antis's Reg. of the Garter. See Biog. Brit.

‡ S. Mellische 10, Court of Canterbury.

§ Dug. Bar.—Erdeswick. Harl. MSS., No. 6182.

‖ See Will of John, Lord Dudley. Biog. Brit. voce Dudley, Erdeswick, and Harl. MSS., No. 6182,

* Dug. Bar., confirmed by Biog. Brit.

The following anecdote in Leland, no doubt relates to the marriage of Margaret, one of these four daughters, with Edward, lord Powis. "The lorde Powis, grauntfather that is now, being in a controversy for asawte made upon hym goying to London by the lord Dudeley, and Dudeley castelle condesended by entreaty, that his son and heir should mary the olde lorde of Dudleis' daughter, [mother to the lord] Powis that is now.*

The confusion arising from the labours of "the most learned and expert genealogists of the age," previously alluded to, is greatly increased at this period from the family dropping the name of Sutton altogether, and taking that of Dudley alone, as was the case in the Will of John Dudley, just mentioned; and also in the Act 11 Hen. VII. c. 47, and in many other documents of the time.

Upon the death of the fifth John de Sutton, the barony and estates devolved upon Edward, his grandson and heir. His title, however, to the manors of Northfield and Weley was called in question; as they had, by mistake, been included with many other manors, in a grant to the king's uncle, the duke of Bedford; and he was also afraid of the grant to his grandfather being resumed by the crown, as Sir William Berkeley attempted, in 11 H. VII. (1496), to "adnulle the Act of Atteynder against him, and

* Leland's Itinerary, vol. 6. See note D *post*.

petitioned to have all his manors and property restored." Lord Dudley had sufficient influence to obtain an Act making void the grant of these manors to the Duke of Bedford, and confirming the grant "to the said John, late lord Dudley, and to his heirs males."* In the same year, lord Dudley obtained a grant of the custody of the lordships of Kereign, and other places in Wales, during the minority of John, son and heir of Sir John Grey, lord Powis. He retained them some time, and, on 4 December, 20 H. VII. (1504), with two sureties, entered into a recognizance of 1000 marks to pay £50 a year to the crown as long as he held them. In 8 H. VIII. (1516), an annuity of £20. was granted out of these manors to his brother, John Dudley; and in May, the next year, he obtained a warrant to cancel the recognizance; and in the July following, a pardon of all matters concerning them.†

In the 18th Hen. VII. (1503), he was accused of a felony, and the earl of Surrey, Lord High Steward of England, was appointed to try him.‡ The result does not appear; but it was probably an acquittal; for he was in the Commission of the Peace for the

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* See Stat., 11 Hen. VII. c. 47. According to Dr. Nash, lord Edward Dudley, sold Northfield in 23 Hen. VIII. (1531). See Nash's Worc., vol. 2, p. 190.

† Letters, &c., Foreign and Domestic, in Hen. VIII.'s reign, vol. 2, pt. 1.

‡ Letters, &c., of Ric. III. and Hen. VII., vol. 2. London, 1863.

counties of Warwick, Worcester, and Stafford in 1509 and several of the following years. His affairs, however, became involved, and he is mentioned among the king's debtors in the 3rd, 5th, and 6th years of Henry VIII.'s reign; and in the fourth year, he and his son John, became bound for a loan to one John Barel.* And in 19 Hen. VIII. (1527) he sold his interest in the castle and manor of Malpas, &c., in Com. Cest. to George Robinson.†

The following is a curious illustration of the state of society at this time. William de Birmingham, dying about 15. H. VII. (1500), left Edward, his grandson and heir, not much above three years old. His wardship, in 17 H. VII. (1502), was granted to lord Dudley, who sold it to Edward's mother, who sold it again, to one William Coningsby.‡ Neglected by his surviving parent and his guardian, he contracted wild habits, became involved in debt, and, associating with dissolute companions, scrupled not to rob upon the highway. The following letter from lord Edward Dudley, to Cardinal Wolsey, written somewhere between the years 1525 and 1529, contains an account of some of his doings.

"Most reverent ffader in God, and my most especiall good lorde, in my most lowly wyse I recomand me vnto your good Grace. Pleace it the same your grace

* Letters, &c. Henry VIII.
† Ormerod's Cheshire, and see note E *post.*
‡ Dug. Warw., p. 659.

to have knolege that uppon the nyght a fore Christomas evyn last passid, on Edward Byrmyngham and to (two) off (of) his servants, whoes names be Robert Sutton and Henry Fox, with in a myle of my castell off Dudleye, in the Counte of Staff., beytt (beat) woundyd and robyd a tenent of myn of Dudley whoes name is John Moseley, and toke from hym iiij^{li}. viij^{s}. off money, and laught (left) hym for dede, and whot swit fouoloid (hot pursuit followed) after and toke them in Schropsheyre with the maynonok (mainour) and aftor. warde by on (one) Ruffe off Warley, and other conveyed them in to Wiscettorschyre, to the intent that they by the helpe of ther frends may come unto their Aquytall. On (one) of the thevys whoes name is Henry Fox confessid and seid that ther was a hundred persons thevys of ther affynite and company within thre scheyrs adioynyng, and now the frends off the said Edward Byrmyngham and off his seid to (two) servants make no dowt butt the (they) woll obteyn and gett ther ꝑdon. of the Kyng's Grace and off your Grace in consideracōn wher of it myght pleise your Grace to send for the said Edward Byrmyngham and his to (two) seruauntts to the intent that they may be examyned that ther affynyte of this nounbor off thevys myght be knowen and taken. Youre Grace shall doe a gracious deide as well for quyatacion of the Kyng's subgetts, as a vodying of suche robberys and murder as hathe be doñ a bowte the towne of Byrmyngham, as knowyth

God who have your said Grace in his blessid tuicōn. At Dudley, wrytton the xxiiij day of Januarii. And if it may please your said Grace to her (hear) this berer speke he shall showe your Grace forther of my mynde, which I trust your Grace wolbe content withall. More worthe to youe then the Priory of Sondewell that I yeve (gave) youe to yo^r^ Newe Colege of Oxforde.

Your humbyell orator,

EDWARD DUDLEY."

"To the most reverent father in God, the lord Legate Cardinall Archbishop of Yorke, Chauncellor and Primate Metropolitan of England. This to be delivered in goodly hast." *

It appears that he was convicted of this felony, as by a special Act of Parliament of 28 Hen, VIII. (1536), it is stated that, standing indebted "to the Kynge in divers grete summes of money" and also at the mercy of his highness "having been then convicted of felony," the king "ys contented and pleased to accept and take the manor of Birmingham and all his other property; reserving to the said Edward and Elizabeth his wife, xl^li^. per annum, for their lives.†

* Original letters, by Sir Henry Ellis. Third Series, vol. 2. London, 1846. This letter is without date; but, as Sir H. Ellis observes, as Cardinal Wolsey founded the New College at Oxford, in 1525, to which lord Dudley had contributed the Priory of Sandwell, as mentioned at the conclusion; it must have been written between that year and 1529, when the Cardinal fell out of the king's favour.

† Dug. Warw., p. 659. The letter of lord Edward Dudley,

I know not when lord Edward Dudley died. He was, shortly after the beginning of Hen. VIII.'s reign, elected a knight of the garter, and was summoned to parliament, says Dugdale, from 7 H. VII. (1492), to 21 H. VIII. (1529), both years inclusive.* Yet, his name does not appear upon the lord's journals after the 7 H. VIII. (1514), when he appointed the Abbot of Westminster and lord Dacres, his proxies.† He was alive in 22 H. VIII. (1530), as he then joined his brother, Sir John Dudley, in levying a fine of Aston-in-the Walls, in Com. North. ; ‡ and in 23 H. VIII. (1531) he sold the manor of Northfield.§ He

completely disproves the alleged conspiracy by the duke of Northumberland, whilst in possession of Dudley Castle, "by a wicked stratagem to work de Birmingham out of his property ;" which Dugdale rests "upon tradition received from divers discret persons." The tradition represents him as the innocent victim of a deeply laid plot :—a set of villains having robbed one of their companions, whilst de Birmingham was, by a stratagem, in their company, and thus involved in a charge of robbery. The letter of lord Dudley shows the robbery was committed before the year 1529. The Act of 1536 refers to the conviction for felony; the time of the Duke's obtaining Dudley castle is uncertain ; it was probably before the year 1538, but he did not obtain the manor of Birmingham until 37 H. VIII. (1545), nine years after it was vested in the crown. Dugdale's suggestion that it was "on purpose so deferred that the world might the less censure him for this hard dealing," imputes an oversensitiveness and delicacy of feeling wholly foreign to the character of that rapacious nobleman. The Duke, however, had sufficient sins of his own to answer for, without being made the scapegoat of others.

* Institt., &c., of the Garter, and Claus. de iisdem ann. in dorso, Dug. Bar.

† Lord's Journals.

‡ Baker's Northamptonshire.

§ Nash's Worcestershire, vol. 2, p. 190.

must have died soon afterwards, as, in 25 H. VIII. (1533), his son, "Sir John Duddeley, knt., lord Duddeley, passed away the manor of Oxley, in com. Staff. to James Levison, which he had inherited from his father. *

He married Cicely, daughter of Sir William Willoughby, knt.,† and was succeeded by John, his eldest son and heir, who was soon deprived of his castle and barony by the unprincipled John Dudley, duke of Northumberland. This ambitious nobleman was extremely anxious that it should be believed that he was connected with the Sutton family, although he was probably descended from a Dudley carpenter. The origin of his family was undoubtedly obscure, though, says Erdeswick, with his own hand, in a descent of those barons, he exprest himself to be of a younger branch of the barons of Dudley.‡ Finding this John, lord Dudley to be a weak man, whereby he had exposed himself to some wants, and so became entangled within the usurer's bonds, as he was during his father's lifetime, he made these money merchants, his instru-

* Shaw's Staffordshire, vol. 2, p. 185. In 1522, Edward rented a house in Tothill Street, Westminster, of the fraternity of St. Mary, and he and his family chiefly lived in London at this period, as may be collected from his son John and Cicely Gray his wife; their son Edward, and Mary, his third wife, and their grandson, Sir Ferdinando Sutton, being all buried at St. Margarets, at Westminster. [See Walcott's Memorials of Westminster, p. 181].

† Biog. Brit.

‡ Erdeswcik's Staff. See note F *post.*

ments to work him out of Dudley castle; which usurers accordingly getting a mortgage of part of his lands, let in such room for the duke to put in a foot, that he soon justled him out of his castle and barony. The poor lord being thus turned out of doors, and left to the charity of his friends for a subsistence, spent the rest of his days in making visits among them, with whom he usually staid according as he found welcome, being commonly called the "Lord Quondam." * He never had a seat in parliament. †

Upon the execution and attainder of the duke of Northumberland on 22nd August, 1553 (1. Mary), Dudley castle and all other his vast estates were forfeited to the crown. His victim, the "Lord Quondam," expired in the following September, and

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* Dug. Warw. I cannot discover the date of this transaction. It must have occurred before the 5th of May, 1543, as in a letter of that date, lord Dudley's son, George Dudley, is referred to as "the sonne of the lord Dudley that solde his landes."—[See State Papers, vol. 9, p. 40-3]. Dugdale says, it happened whilst John Dudley was visct. L'Isle and earl of Warwick. It is more probable that it was when he was only Sir John Dudley, as the lands of the neighbouring Priory were granted to him in 1540, when only a knight; whence, I conclude. he was then in possession of the castle. This is confirmed by the letter of Cecelie, the wife of lord Quandam, to lord Cromwell, given in Adlard's Sutton-Dudleys, and dated 24th February 1538, wherein she says "it is so, as you know very well, that by the means of my lord, my husband, I and all mine are utterly undone." Whence it is evident that lord Dudley had then parted with his property; and Sir John Dudley was not created viscount L'Isle until March 1542, and earl of Warwick until 1547.

† See Memorials of Westminster, by Rev. M. E. C. Walcott. London, 1851.

happening to die at Westminster, Strype informs us that his obsequies were celebrated on the 21st of that month, honoroubly, but with the old popish ceremonies.* He married Cecelie, one of the daughters of Thomas Grey, the first Marquis of Dorset, about the year 1501, by whom he had three sons. Edward, who succeeded to the barony, Henry and George.†

* Strype's Memorials, vol. 3., pt. 1, p. 51.

† Dug. Bar. and Blore's Rutlandshire. This marquis of Dorset died, September 20, 1501; and, by his will, which is undated, he directs all covenants betwixt the lord Dudley and him, for the marriage of his son and heir to Cecelie, his daughter, to be fully performed, whence, I conclude, the marriage took place about that time. The second marquis of Dorset, son of the first, by his will, dated 2nd June, 1530, willed to his sister, Ceceley Dudley, his manor of Much Glen for her life, and her mete and drinke for her manservant and maide with his lady his wife, or else £20. yearly. And by an inquisition taken after his death, on 23rd September, 24 H. VIII. (1532), the jury say, that in recompense or satisfaction of a legacy of £1000. given by the first marquis to Cecelie, wife of John Dudley, knight, and sister of the second marquis, the latter gave to trustees, the manor of Glen Magna, to the use of the said Cecelie for her life, with remainder to the said Thomas, marquis Dorset and his heirs. And further, the jurors say that this manor was held of the honor of Winchester, by fealty only, and was worth £25. a year clear. [Nichols' Leicestershire, vol. 3.] It appears from the following letter from this noble lady to lord Cromwell, the lord Privy Seal, dated 24th February 1538, that this was all she had for her maintenance :—

"The cause of my writing unto you is, desiring you to be good lord unto me; it is so as you know very well, that by the means of my lord, my husband, I and all mine are utterly undone, unless it be the better provided by the Grace of God, and likewise that it may please the King's highness to take pity of me and mine.. The truth is, I have little above twenty pound a year, (which I have by my lady my mother,) to find me and one of my daughters with a woman and a man to wait upon me; and surely, unless the good prioress of Nuneaton did give me meat and drink of free

Whilst George, the youngest son, plotted with the catholics against Henry VIII.; and Henry, the second son, plotted with the protestants against Mary; Edward most impartially supported either party, according as his interests for the time prompted. They all inherited their father's poverty, and experienced great privation and distress. George, who in 1543, was involved in some plot with Cardinal Pole, in Italy, against Henry VIII., "was," we are informed by Sir William Paget, "previously driven to worke at Calais, with a mattock and a shovel," where he earned "six pens a day."*

Henry, in carrying out a plot in 1556, against Queen Mary, for transporting men from England into

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cost, to me and all mine that here remains with me, I could not tell what shift to make. Over and besides that, whensoever any of my children comes hither to see me, they be welcome unto the prioress as long as they list to tarry, horsemeat and man's meat, and cost them nothing, with a piece of gold or two in their purses at their departure." [Preserved in the State Paper Office. See Adlard's account of the Sutton-Dudleys]. These Grays resided at Astley castle, in Warwickshire, adjoining to Nuneaton, and lady Dudley was, no doubt, then living there with her mother. She died in 1554, and on "the xxix. day of Aprell" "was bered" (buried) "in Sant Margaret's in Westminster, with iiij baners of emayes and mony gowens, and hon[g with] blake and armes, for my lade (lady) was aontt (aunt) unto the [duke] of Suffolke-Dassett, the wyche was hedyd (beheaded) latt, (lately)." [Diary of Henry Machyn, edit. by J. Nichols, for Camden Socy.] It is curious that this lady's burial is entered in the register, in her maiden name. "1554, April 28. The Lady Cyslye Gray." [Ib. See note p. 398].

* State Papers, Domestic, Henry VIII. Further curious particulars of this ambiguous affair are given in note G *post*.

France, landing with them again on the coast near Portsmouth, driving out the Spaniards, &c., and robbing the Exchequer,—fled into France. In making his escape, he urged the fear of his creditors, as the motive for his leaving England; and lady Dudley, wife of Edward, in reply to a question by the Queen, "Where her brother Henry was?" replied, "In France, as I her saye, for I kneu not of his going," and she added, "she thought he went over for debt; and that he was so afeard of his creditors, that he dared not stay here any longer."* In November, however, of that year, the select counsel wrote to the king (query Queen?) giving "information from Dr. Wotton, that the profligate traitor, Dudley, had been tampering with the soldiers at Guisnes and Ham;"† of which latter place, his brother, lord Edward Dudley, was at that time governor.

Edward Sutton, the eldest son, under the patronage of his maternal uncle, lord Leonard Grey, who was the deputy in Ireland in 1536, obtained promotion

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* State Papers, Domestic, Mary. There are many details given of this obscure affair by different parties, in these collections. The above conversation is related in the confession of one, Thomas White. There is a full account of what is known of it in the "Verney Papers," Edited by John Bruce, Esq., for the Camden Society. London, 1853.

† Domestic Series of Papers, Mary. Vol. ix. See note H *post.* Henry Dudley married a daughter of Sir Christopher Ashton, another of the conspirators; and, after Mary's death, returned to England, and was patronised by the earl of Leicester, who regarded him as a kinsman. [Adlard's Sutton-Dudleys.]

there, and assisted in suppressing the Catholics of that unhappy country. When Sir William Brereton levied 250 archers to serve there, he was appointed captain of 100 men under him, upon the recommendation of lord Cromwell. Another having been also promised, Edward Dudley wrote to lord Cromwell on the 10th October in that year, from Nantwich, to which place he had hurried upon his appointment, —"thatt wher by your goodness and be youre prefurment, ther was a letter dyrected from the kinge's highness, unto Sir William a Brutton, in my behalfe, for to be a capytayne with hyme; whereupon with all haste that might be, I repared unto hyme accordynge to your dysparchementt, and surely I made as harde shyfte to convey me to hyme, as ever gentylman dydde; nottwithstandynge Master Wyndham, youre Lordeshyp's servante, brought unto hyme, sens that fyste apoynttement, another letter from youre lordshypp, dyrected in the prefarment of hyme for the same matter;—so that Master Bruerton standes in a stay, tyll youre lordshyp's plesure be farther knowen. Surely he ys very glade of me, ande yff yt may stande with your plesure. Surely, oonles youe be goode lorde unto me, I ame butt utterly undone, ande yf I be dyseapoynted, for I made harde shyfte amongste my freendes agaynste thys jorney. Wherefore, goode, my lorde, consyder my poverty, and whatt case I stande in. Most humbly requyrynge youe, that I may stande to my fyrste apoynttement,

trustynge that I shall as well consyder my duety ande servys to the Kinge's Highness, as eny poore gentylman may doo." He seems not only to have succeeded in this object, but, in the king's instructions to the commissioners who were sent to Ireland in the July following, they were directed to "commit unto yonge Dudley, one of the best garisons." Lord Leonard Gray, in a letter to lord Cromwell, dated March 1538, concludes,—"Beseeching youer lordship to be goode lorde, unto my poure neveu Dudley, thys berer, in his furtherance to the Kinge's majestie, for his good service here done." It appears, from a letter from lord Ormond to Cromwell, that he continued in Ireland until December 1539.*

About this time he was refused in a suit he made to the widow lady Berkeley, a ward of the king, in consequence of his poverty; though his suit was backed by the king, and by Cromwell, the privy seal. It must have occurred before July, 1540, when the latter was beheaded.†

In 1547 (1 E. VI.), being in the expedition then made into Scotland (at that time a knight) he was made governor of Hume castle, upon the render thereof to the English. ‡

When Mary succeeded to the throne, Edward was not slow in adapting himself to her religious views,

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* State Papers, Hen. VIII. Domestic, vol. 2.
† Adlard's Sutton-Dudleys, p. 49.
‡ Dug. Bar.

as appears from his celebrating the obsequies of his father with the old popish ceremonies, and she requited his devotion by including him in a batch of fourscore and ten knights, made by her the day after her coronation. (1st October 1553.)*

His zeal sometimes outran discretion, as the following shows:—"At Richmonde, the xv. day of June, anno 1554, a letter to lord Dudleye, willing him, where he hath determyned to give such liveries as the prince of Spaine giveth, to desist therefrom, forasmuch as the same should be unfyttinge; the princes liverye beinge a speciall note whereby his servants may be known."† In November of the same year, he was summoned by writ to the house of lords, as baron of Dudley, ‡ and at the same time obtained a grant from the crown of part of the church plunder, originally bestowed on the duke of Northumberland, consisting of the manors of Horborne, as also the whole priory of Dudley, and the tithes of Northfield and Sedgley, with divers messuages and lands in Dudley, Tresel, and Cradley, parcel of the possessions belonging to the same priory. §

The next year (1555) he married his first wife, Katherine Brydges, one of the gentlewomen in

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* Strype's Memorials, vol. 3.

† Proceedings of Privy Council. See Erdeswicke's Staff. by Harwood. 1844.

‡ Lords Journals, ann. 1554.

§ Pat. 1 & 2, Ph. & Mary. Dug. Bar.

ordinary of the queen, and daughter of Sir John Brydges, knight, lord Chandoys, another of her favorites, (with whom the queen had the conversation respecting Henry Dudley, previously mentioned,) and by letters patent, dated the 31st December, the queen settled upon them and their heirs, and, for default of such, to the right heirs of Edward Sutton, the lordships of Sedgley, Himley and Swinford; the hays, forests and chases, of Ashwood and Chaspell; and all the land called Willingsworth, in Sedgley, with divers lands and tenements in Hymley, Wombourne, and Swyndon.* By another grant, Mary gave to them and their heirs male, the whole castle of Dudley, the Conigre park, the old park, with divers messuages and lands lying in Dudley, Rowley, and Sedgley. The date of this grant is not given by Dugdale, but it was confirmed by letters patent, per Inspeximus, in 21 Eliz. (1578-9). The object of this confirmation, probably, was to secure these estates to the children of his second marriage, as his first wife died without leaving male issue.†

By the same queen, in 1554, he was made lieutenant

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* Pat. 2 & 3, Ph. & Mary. Dug. Bar. See note to Verney Papers, published by Camden Society, London, 1853.

† Pat. 21, Eliz. per Inspex. Dug. Bar. The Crown was somewhat dilatory in restoring the forfeited estates to the Sutton family. In 1553 the Queen granted to Sir John Lyttelton, knight, a Roman Catholic, the office of Constable of Dudley castle, with the rangership of the old and new parks there. See Burke's Peerage, 1847, voce Lyttelton.

of the castle of Hampnes, (or Ham,) in Picardy, for life,* which he held until it was ingloriously abandoned to the French in 1558. When the duke of Guise, in January in that year, surprised, and in eight days took Calais, the castle of Guisnes, after a gallant defence, capitulated. "Nothing then remained unconquered within the English pale, except the little castle of Ham, which was so completely surrounded with marshes, that the French would have found great difficulty in bringing up their heavy ordnance; but the lord Edward Dudley, who commanded there, abandoned the place, without regard to the honour of arms, the night after the surrender of Guisnes, and fled with his small garrison into Flanders.†

Upon the death of Mary, he was equally successful in ingratiating himself with Elizabeth. After the celebrated entertainment of her majesty by the earl of Leicester at Kenilworth, in 1575, at the end of July she pursued her progress through Staffordshire and Worcestershire, and so returned to Woodstock, in Oxfordshire.‡ On her way she visited Dudley castle, as appears from the following letters. Lord Burleigh, under date of 7th August, writes to Walsingham :—"I see the Queen's Majestie is to be at Dudley on the 20th wher I am very sorry, I can not be,

* Pat. 1 & 2, Ph. & M. Dug. Bar.
† Pictorial Hist. of England, vol. 3, p. 535.
‡ Nichol's Progresses of queen Elizabeth.

specially for the satisfaction of my lord and lady Dudley, who I know would gladly have me there, the rather to further their suite, which otherwise I shall be most willing to do, and thynk it a very good deed." On the same date he writes him again :— "I pray you that you will cause this letter to be delivered to my lord Dudley, wherein I do write in excuse for my not coming thither, being compelled by all the physicians here to tarry some days." *

To which Walsingham answers :—

"Stafforde, the 7 August 1575. Your Lordship may perceive howe her majesty's determination to go to Worcester is altered, uppon advertisement from thence, that the towne should be vysyted by small-pockes. This alteration as I suppose, dothe hasten her majesties repaire to Dudley Castell sooner than was determyned. Whereupon your lordship may make some just cause to excuse your not coming thither." † I suppose this suit of lord and lady Dudley related to the confirmation of the grant by Mary, of Dudley castle, which Elizabeth, as we have seen, confirmed, per Inspeximus, about three years afterwards.

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* State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, No. cv.

† Harwood's Erdeswicke's Staff, 1844. Her majesty went to Worcester in spite of the "small-pockes," as master Laneham, the clerk of the counsel, dates his letter, describing the splendid doings at Kenilworth castle, "from the Coourt at the Citie of Worcester, the xx. August 1575." Supplement to "Kenilworth Illustrated," Chiswick. 1821.

In the year 1585, when, for some reason or other, Elizabeth wished to remove Mary, queen of Scots, from Tutbury, Sir Amyas Powlet, in whose custody she was, secretly visited the castle, to ascertain if it would be a proper place for her to be sent to. By letter dated Rushall, the 11th November, to Sir Francis Walsingham, he says,—"finding my L. Dudley absent, I was forced to take my lodging in one of the poorest townes that I have seen in my life; and the next day took a full view of the castle, with the assent of my saide L. who being then at Warwick, sent the keys with all expedition." The remainder of this curious letter, describing the castle, is given elsewhere. In another, from the same to the same, dated Tutbury, 18th November, the following letter from my lord Dudley was enclosed:—

"Good Sir Amyas Powlet, I am hartilie sorrye that it was my harde fortune to be from my house at youre commynge to vewe the castelle. I should have been sorrye if it had byn but only that I did not speke with you; much more, for that you did come upon Her Majesties affairs; neverthelesse as soon as I did heare thereof, I sent you the keayes, and cam presently myself, hoping I should have spoken with you; but it was no marvel that you made haste away, havinge so great a charge, for I assuer you if it had byn myselfe, I should not have slepte quietly from so greate an office; but touching the matter, for the use of the castell, bothe I and the castell with all

that ever I have shall be at her majesties commandement, no lesse than I am bounden; but synce it was not my happe to speak with you, I will come unto you in what place, and at what tyme you shall apoynt me. I for this tyme take my leave. Hemley, the 11th day of this present November 1585.

Your assured frende to the uttermost,

E. DUDDELEY." *

This plan was abandoned, and Mary was taken to Chartley, as had been previously intended.

Lord Edward Dudley was married three times. First, to the above-mentioned Katherine Brydges, by whom he had an only daughter; secondly to Jane, the daughter of Edward, lord Derby, by whom he had two sons, Edward and John; and thirdly to Mary, daughter of William, lord Howard of Effingham, who survived him.† By his will, dated the 8th July 1586, he directed his body to be buried where his father and mother were buried, at the discretion of Mary, lady Dudley, his wife; and bequeathed "his hoole ironworks with all his ore fit for to maintain the same, and also all his woods and underwoods for the thorough maintaining of the same," unto his executors for 21 years to pay his debts. He died in the following August, and, on the 12th of that month was buried in St. Margaret's church, at Westminster.‡

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* State Papers relating to Scotland, Mary queen of Scots.

† Dug. Bar.

‡ Dug. Bar. and Walcott's Memorials of Westminster. Dugdale

He was succeeded by Edward Sutton, his eldest son and heir, being the last of the name who held the castle. He married Theodocia, the daughter of Sir James Harrington, knight, by whom he had an only son, Ferdinando, and three daughters. Ferdinando was made a knight of the bath, at the creation of Henry, prince of Wales, in 1610 (7 Jas. I.), and on the 9th July in that year, married Honoria, daughter of Edward, lord Beauchamp, with a dowrie of £10,000. She died in 1620 (17 Jas. I.), and, on the 22nd November in the following year, he died of smallpox, in his father's lifetime, and was buried in St. Margaret's, Westminster, leaving an only orphan daughter, named Frances.*

The only creditable thing I find recorded of this Edward Sutton is, that in 1588 (30 Eliz.) he, in conjunction with divers other noblemen and gentlemen,

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erroneously dates the will in 1585, instead of 1586, and the time of his death in July, instead of August in the latter year. His widow, Mary, lady Dudley, married secondly, Richard Monpesson, Esq. She died August 21, 1600, aud was buried at St. Margaret's, Westminster, and her second husband there erected to her memory, "a high tomb of alabaster, with the recumbent figure of a lady, painted in colours and gilded, and a male figure in armour, praying beside her, with a book before him, on a faldstool."

* Dug. Bar., Walcott's Westminster, and State Papers of Jas. I. A. D. 1621. See also extract from parish register, quoted by Dr. Booker.—"Honoria Dudley was buried in the parish church of St. Edmund's in Dudley, within the chancel, upon Friday night, the 23rd March 1620, (17 Jas. I.) about 11 of the clocke, in the presence of divers gentlemen, and other inhabitinge neighbours within the township of Dudley."

went to sea to serve in the queen's army, against the Spanish Armada.* The rest of his life was spent in reckless extravagance, squandering his property, neglecting his wife, quarrelling with and defrauding his neighbours, and setting the laws at defiance. An epigram of Burns', with a slight alteration, is applicable.

Bright ran thy line, in long array,
Thro' many a far-fam'd sire!
So ran the far-fam'd Roman way;
So ended in a Mire!.

It appears from Erdeswick, that the lord Edward Dudley, the father, who died in 1586, sold Prestwood to Sir John Lyttelton, and that there was great contention for the same between their two sons, this lord Edward Dudley and Gilbert Lyttelton.† The following curious details of this affair are taken from the bill preferred against him in the Star-chamber, by Sir John's executors.

On the 12th October 34 Eliz. (1592) the lord Dudley, in the night-time, raised above 140 persons, all weaponed with bowes and arrows, forest bills, or long staves, and went to Prestwood and Ashwood; and from the latter took 341 sheep of the executors' and caused them to be driven toward Dudley. With the rest of his company, numbering about 110, he entered into Mr. Lyttelton's enclosed grounds of Prestwood,

* Lord Somers Tracts, vol. 1, p. 416.
† Erdeswick's Staff. by Harwood.

and thence with great violence chased 14 kyne, one bull and eight fat oxen, took them to Dudley castle, and there kept them within the walls.

Mr. Lyttelton having sued replevyns, three or four days after, his lordship's servants, threatening to cut the bailiffs to pieces, would not suffer them to make delivery of the cattle, according to their warrant.

Afterwards lord Dudley killed and ate part of the cattle, and some of them he sent towards Coventry, with 60 men, strongly armed with calyvers, or bowes and arrows, some on horseback with chasing staves, and others on foot with forest bills, there to be solde After they were gone about eight miles, suddenly in the night-time, he raised the inhabitants of Dudley, Sedgley, Kingswinford, Rowley, &c., to the number of 600 or 700, and all weaponed, went after these cattle, and fetched them back to Dudley castle, where they wasted them all. Mr. Lyttelton complaining to the lords of the privie counsel, and these courses seeming strange to them, it pleased them to write to lord Dudley, advising and requiring him to re-deliver the said cattle, or the value of all such as he had wasted; which he refused to do, saying he would answer their lordhips' letter. Of these misdemeanours a bill was drawn against him and 80 of his company, whereupon all, saving some few which had run out of the country, appeared, and, in effect, confessed most of the matters aforesaid, and such of them as were by them concealed were proved by witnesses before Commissioners.

The following extracts from a letter, written by John Lyttelton to his father Gilbert, one of the executors, in reference to this suit, affords no very exalted idea of the state of justice during the reign of the imperious Elizabeth. "Yf you mean to have extraordinary favour, you must give an extraordinary price to purchase it; the friendships and favours of this time, and of great men being proportioned to the reward, and measured by the commoditye themselves receive." "But, Sir, above all things let it be provided, whatever it cost, that you take nor receive foyle or disgrace in your beginnings; the expense of £500 in a seasonable time to defend right and reputation will save in the course of your life, the charge of so many thousands."

These proceedings lasted until 1595 (38 Eliz.), when an agreement between the parties was entered into, by which it is evident that lord Dudley's claim to Prestwood was without any just foundation or colour of right, he agreeing to pay 1000 marks to Mr. Lyttelton, and all further suit to cease.*

In another instance of his reckless litigiousness his son Ferdinando was associated with him in oppressing a poor widow. The lord Edward Dudley, the father, leased to one Richard Gravenor, or to Martha his widow, certain messuages, and 1000 acres

* The whole of this letter is worth a perusal; it is printed in Nash's Worcestershire, vol. 1, p. 494, whence the above particulars of the case are taken. See also Shaw's Staff.

of land, called the Old Park, in Sedgley. The widow had unfortunately brought herself under the operation of one of those oppressive statutes, passed in Elizabeth's reign, for upholding the Protestant episcopal church of these realms, whereby a fine of £20 per month, incurred for non-attendance at church, was directed to be levied by distress upon the property of the offenders, to the extent of all their goods, and two thirds of their lands.* Mary Gravenor, for her recusancy, forfeited two thirds of the property leased to her by lord Dudley, which were granted by James I. to Sir Ferdinando Dudley. †

Being at this disadvantage, she sold the rest of her interest in the property to him for £1200, of which he paid £100 only. She was obliged to sue him in the Exchequer for the remainder, and on February 10, 1621, obtained a decree for the balance of £1100. This was set at nought, and on the 14th May following, an order was issued to Sir Ferdinando to obey the injunction, and yield up certain messuages and lands, called the Old Park, to Martha Gravenor.

In 1622, on 3rd June, the widow obtained a decree

* Stat. 30 Eliz. cap. 6.

† State Papers, Domestic, James I. 1619-1623. In the year 1619, a warrant was issued from the Court of Exchequer, on 12th February, in the cause of the Attorney General *v.* Edward, lord Dudley, Thomas Wilmer, (who married lord Dudley's half-sister, Agnes,) and Martha Gravenor, for ejection of the Defendants from certain lands in Sedgley. This probably related to the two-thirds forfeited by Martha Gravenor, and granted to Sir Ferdinando Dudley.

against Edward lord Dudley, recapitulating former decrees, whereby his lordship, and his son Sir Ferdinando, then lately deceased, were pledged to pay to the plaintiff £1000, in lieu of her interest in the property; and his lordship, failing in performance, was ordered to discharge the sum then unpaid, with £100 additional for costs. This produced an effort to compromise. By indenture of the 28th July following, lord Dudley agreed to pay to Martha Gravenor the sums of £180 and £50, arrears of a rent of £100 a year, due to her from him, for certain lands, on condition of her forbearing to seize the lands, as she was empowered to do by decree of the Exchequer, with a proviso on his part, of forfeiture of £80 if the whole sum were not paid within the time prescribed. But this was no better observed than the Exchequer decrees and orders; and, accordingly, on 12th Feb. 1624, an execution was issued to eject his lordship from the premises, and to put Martha Harpur, executrix of Martha Gravenor, deceased, into quiet possession thereof.* His lordship somehow managed to evade this execution for nine years; for by an indenture dated 23 November 1633, the said Martha Harper, as executrix of Martha Gravenor, default having been made in the before-mentioned payments,

* These particulars are taken from the volume of "State Papers, Domestic, James I." Published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls.

appointed George Garratt, of Leigh Court, com. Worcester, gentleman, her attorney, to enter upon the said lodge and lands.*

We have seen that Sir Ferdinando left an only daughter, named Frances, "for whom," as Dugdale informs us, "her grandfather had little regard, betaking himself wholly to a concubine, by whom he had divers children; and so far wasted his estate, in the support of her and them, that he left not much of that fair inheritance which descended to him."† One of these children was the celebrated Dud Dudley, the energetic and indefatigable schemer for making iron with pit-coal. In his work called "Metallum Martis," he gives an interesting account of his inventions; the opposition he met with from riva' ironmasters; and the persecution from his political opponents. Lord Dudley obtained a patent from James I., in the year 1621, "for the melting of iron ewer (ore) and of making the same into cast works or barres, with sea-coales, or pit-coales," for the term of 14 years; and he had the address to get it excepted from the operation of the statute of 21 Jas. I. for making void "all monopolies and dispensations with penal laws." ‡

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* Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the reign of Charles the First, 1633-1634. Public Record Office. Edited by John Bruce, Esq. London, 1863.

† Dug. Bar.

‡ See stat. 29, Jas. I. c. 3, and also "Metallum Martis." This

Pedigree of Ward and Smith, of Ridgacre.

WILLIAM WARD.
Goldsmith and Jeweller to Queen of Charles I.

Humble.
19 Car. I. (1644), created Lord Ward, of Birmingham.
d. 1670, Oct. 4. buried at Himley. *Shaw's Staff.*

= **Frances.**
daughter of Ferdinando Sutton, 1643, June 23. On death of grandfather, Edward Sutton, was Baroness Dudley.
d. 1697, Aug. 11, buried at Himley. *Shaw's Staff.*

Edward. On death of father, Lord Ward. On death of mother, Lord Dudley and Ward.
d. 1701 (13 Wm. III.) buried at Himley.

= **Frances.**
daughter of Sir William Brereton.
buried at Himley, Nov. 21, 1676.

John, d. an Infant.

William.
of Willingsworth, in the parish of Sedgley,
d. January, 1713-14.

= **Anne.**
Sister and heiress of Jno. Parkes, of Willingsworth.
m. Dec. 30, 1672. d. Dec. 12, 1679.

Anne. d. unmarried.

Theodocia. m. 1st Sir Thos. Brereton. 2nd Chas. Brereton, Esq.

Honour. m. Wm. Dilke, Esq., of Maxtoke Castle. d. July 18, 1699.

Frances. m. Sir W. Noel, of Kirkby Mallory, in Leic. (2nd wife) m. July 9, 1672.

John. d. without issue. buried at Himley, July 5, 1675.

Humble. d. without issue.

William. d. May 16, 1692, in father's life time.

= **Frances.** dau. of W. Dilke, Esq. d. 1724.

Ferdinando Dudley. d. without issue.

Catherine. m. Hon. Jno. Gray, of Envill Hall.

Lettice. d. unmarried.

Humbletta. m. Thos. Porter.

Humble. d. in infancy.

William. d. Oct. 25, 1720.

= **Mary,** dau. of Hon. Jno. Gray, of Envill Hall, by his 1st wife.

Dudley. d. unmarried.

Frances. m. Rcbt. Pigot, Esq., of Chetwynd, Salop.

Rebecca. d. unmarried.

Jane. m. Daniel Jeavon, Esq.

John. d. July 29, 1696, an infant.

Edward, Lord Dudley & Ward. b. Dec. 20, 1683. d. Mar. —, 1704.

= **Diana.** dau. of Thos. Howard, Ashted, Surrey. d. Mar. 17, 1709, buried at Ashted.

William, Lord Dudley & Ward, d. May 20, 1740, buried at Himley.

Frances. b. Dec. 5, 1687-8, d. Jan. 24, 1737, buried at Himley.

= **William Lea,** of the Grange, co. Salop. m. Nov. 9, 1709.

Humble Grey. d. Dec. 22, 1702, an infant.

Anna Maria. dau. Chas. Bouchier. m. Dec. 26, 1723. d. Dec. 19, 1725.

1st = **John, Ld. Ward.** b. Mar. 6, 1704. Created Vis. Dudley and Ward, 1763. d. May 6, 1774.

2nd = **Mary.** dau. John Carver, m. Jan. 4, 1744-5, d. May 31, 1782.

Frances. m. Geo. Rooke, of St. Lawrence, d. Oct. 14, 1770.

Ann. d. Apr. 18, 1770. at St. Lawrence, co. Kent.

William, Rector of Kingswinford. d. July 21, 1758.

= **Elizabeth.** d. of John Hawkes, Esq.

Edward, Ld. Dudley & Ward. b. June 17, 1704. d. Sept. 6, 1731. unmarried. buried at Ashted.

Ferdinando, Dudley Lea, [Ld. Dudley. d. Oct. 21, 1757, unmarried.

William. d. without issue.

Ann = **Wm. Smith,** of Ridgacre, co. Salop.

Frances. m. Walter Woodcock, of Hales Owen.

Mary. m. Dr. Hervey, of Stourbridge.

Catherine. m. T. Jordan, of Birmingham.

Elizabeth. m. Rev. Ben. Briscoe, of AshtonKeynes, county Glouc.

John, Vis. Dudley & Ward. b. —— 1724. d. Oct. 20, 1788.

= **Mrs. Baker.** m. July 12, 1788. no issue.

Humble. d. an infant.

William, Vis. Dudley & Ward. b. Jan. 21, 1750. d. Apr. 25, 1823.

= **Julia.** 2d dau. of Godfrey Bosville. m. Aug. 1, 1780.

Humble, a barrister, m. —— 1779. d. Jan. 9, 1785.

= **Susannah Beecroft.**

Frances. m. Washington Shirley, Earl Ferrers. d. Mar. 4, 1812.

Son. who died a bachelor.

Frances. m. her cousin, Walter Woodcock.

Ann. m. Edw. Baker Hill Court.

Ferdinando. of the Grange, co. Salop.

= **Elizabeth Lyttelton.** of Hales Owen.

John William, Vis. Dudley and Ward. b. Aug. 9, 1781. created Earl of Dudley, Sept. 24, 1827. d. March 6, 1833, unmarried.

Rev. William Humble Baron Ward, of Birmingham. b. Jan. 9, 1781. d. Dec. 6, 1835.

= **Amelia,** dau. of Wm. Cooch Pillans, Esq. m. May 22, 1816.

Ferdinando. devisee in remainder under late Earl of Dudley's will. d. July 20, 1841.

= 1st **Eliza Knudson.** d. without issue.

= 2nd **Elizabeth.** 4th dau. of Michael Grazebrook, Esq.

William. Fought at Waterloo.

Henry. officer in the army, killed at Ceylon.

Elizabeth. m. Joseph Carruthers, attorney, of Hales Owen. d. without issue.

Caroline. m. Capt. Marcus John Annesley, of Ireland.

Maria, Amelia, Harriett, Matilda.

William, Lord Ward. b. Mar. 27, 1817, created Earl of Dudley and Vis. Ednam, Feb. 13, 1860.

= 1st **Selina Constance.** dau. Hubert de Burgh, Esq. m. Apr. 24, 1851. d. Nov. 14, 1851.

= 2nd **Georgiana,** 3rd dau. of Sir Thos. Moncrieffe, Bart. m. Nov. 21, 1865.

Julia Susannah. b. July 1, 1818. m. June 14, 1842.

= **Rev. Thomas Leigh Claughton.** Vicar of Kidderminster, now Bishop of Rochester.

Humble Dudley. b. Dec. 20, 1821. m. Oct. 17, 1843.

= **Eleanor.** 3rd dau. of Thos. Hawkes, Esq., M.P.

Ferdinando Dudley Lea. b. 1834. called to the bar, 1858.

William, b. 1836.

William Humble Dudley. b. Feb. 19, 1849.

Amelia Alice Julia. m. June 10, 1865, to Captain James Keith Fraser.

Henrietta Maria.

His wife, neglected by him, was obliged to sell her jewels, as the Pell records of the Exchequer testify. "1626, (2 Car. 1.) on 25th May, to the lady Theodocia Dudley, wife to Edward, lord Dudley, £500, in part for £1700, dúe unto her for a rich diamond, sold and delivered for His Majesty's use." *

His affairs, at last, became so involved, and he so clogged his estates with debts, that, for the disengaging thereof, he married his granddaughter and heir, Frances, to Humble Ward, the only son of William Ward, jeweller to the queen of Charles the First, descended from an ancient family of that name in Norfolk; by which means the estates came into the possession of the present noble family. Departing this life on 23rd June 1643, he was buried at St. Edmund's church, in Dudley, afterwards pulled down in the civil war, by reason of its nearness to the castle. †

At the commencement of the civil war, Colonel Leveson, whose estate was at Wolverhampton, was

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curious work, being very scarce, was, except about six pages, reprinted and prefixed to the 2nd vol. of Shaw's Staffordshire, published in 1801. A reprint of the whole work was published in 1851, and another in 1854, to which latter is prefixed a pedigree, and a short account of Dud Dudley's family, by John M. Bagnall, Esq.

* See Athenæum, part cxxx. for October 1838. The following extract from the old burial register of Clerkenwell is curious. "1624: April 27. Humphry Maddox, yt cut his throat, in the Lord Dudley's house." See Pinks & Wood's Hist. Clerkenwell.

† Dug. Bar. vol. 2.

appointed high sheriff of Staffordshire; and the king granted him large powers to impress soldiers arm them at the charge of the hundred, and take the necessary steps for defence of these parts. Under these powers he occupied the castle, and, on the 14th June 1643, the king wrote to lord Dudley and others, requesting them to assist him in defending the castle, and to use all their power to suppress any that should attempt the same; and, on the 2nd July, immediately on his decease, he wrote to the lady Dudley, as owner of the castle, on behalf of Colonel Leveson.*

It is not clear why lady Dudley was written to upon this occasion, as, according to Collins, she was then at Oxford, with her husband, Humble Ward, with the king. Dugdale says, "great being the distresses of Charles I. at that time, he had little wherewith to reward such loyal persons who stood firm and faithful to him, other than by conferring on them certain titles of dignity and honour." Amongst these, Humble Ward, meriting much for his seasonable supplies "at that time brought to his majesty," having married the heiress to lord Dudley, was, in consideration thereof, made a knight, 24th June 1643 (19 Car. I.).†

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* Shaw's Staff., vol. 2.

† Dug. Bar., and see Collins's Peerage. As the king wrote the lady Dudley on the 2nd July, it is doubtful whether she was then at Oxford with her husband, although Collins states that

When Charles, in the beginning of 1644, set up a rival parliament at Oxford, composed of a minority of the members, both of lords and commons, who had deserted the parliament at Westminster, or had been disabled by it, he created new peers, to give it increased importance. This assembly, which the king himself called "the mongrel parliament," met on the 22nd January, and was dismissed in the middle of April following.* And on the 23rd March, in that year, the king created Humble Ward a baron of this realm, by the title of lord Ward, of Birmingham, in the county of Warwick,† and no doubt he took his seat as such in this "mongrel parliament."

In the early part of 1645, Charles left Oxford; and, having relieved Chester, on his return through Staffordshire, he one night "lay at Homley [Himley] Hall, where then the lord Ward lived, who married the lady Dudley. An old house moated."‡

His lordship's loyalty to Charles, however, did not prevent his keeping all his estates through the stormy period of the revolution, and living in intimacy with his republican neighbours. Among Mr. Astle's MSS. collections for this county, there is a certificate

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she was. The death of lord Dudley, who was buried, and I suppose, died at Dudley, was probably not known at Oxford when Humble Ward was knighted, which happened on the day after his decease.

* Pict. Hist. of England.

† Dug. Bar.

‡ Diary of Capt. Symmonds, edited for the Camden Society.

to the lord protector, from his privy counsel, certifying the truth of a petition presented by Humble Ward (the title was dropped upon this occasion), which petition the protector had referred to them. They therein likewise add, that they conceive the said Mr. Ward to be an object of his highness's grace and favour, held forth in his highness's declaration. This paper is dated July 16, 1656, and signed by ten of the members.*

He was so intimate with Sir William Brereton, the parliamentary general, that a double marriage was contracted between the two families: Edward Ward, his eldest son, marrying the daughter of Sir William, and his youngest daughter, Theodocia, marrying Sir Thomas Brereton, his eldest son and heir.†

The titles conferred at Oxford were looked upon with great distaste by all parties. On the 14th December, 1647, the parliament, in one of those attempts at a peaceful settlement, which were numerous during the struggle, and which the king's utter want of good faith and honesty always rendered abortive, passed four propositions, one of which was "that all the lords who were made after the great seal was carried away (viz. ann. 1642) should be rendered incapable of sitting in the house of peers."‡

* Grose's Antiquities, vol. 2.
† Dug. Bar.
‡ Pict. Hist. of England, vol. 4.

And the house of lords, in the session when Charles II. was recalled, on the 4th May 1660 (12 Car. 1) excluded from parliament all lords created since 1642. The king, however, on the 31st May, two days after his arrival in London, acquainted the house that it was his desire that those lords who had been created by letters patent by his late majesty at Oxford should sit as peers. The house appointed the earl of Berks to acquaint him that matters of honour belonged to his majesty, and acquiesed in his pleasure; and, moreover, resolved "that the order for excluding any lords made at Oxford should be cancelled," and we find lord Ward attending in the house on the 22nd June following.*

Lord Humble Ward died on the 4th October 1670, and the lady Dudley, his wife, in August 1697, and both were buried at Himley.† Besides four daughters, they had issue three sons:—1, Edward, who succeeded to the honours and estates; 2, John, who died an infant; and 3, William Ward, of Willingsworth, in the parish of Sedgley, Esq.; of whom more fully hereafter, as continuator of the male line.‡

* Lord's Journals, ann. 1660.

† Shaw's Staff. vol. 2.

‡ Collins' Peerage, vol 6, edit. 1812. This portion of the family history, in Collins, is full of mistakes as to dates. He states that lady Dudley died in 1701, instead of 1697; and that Edward Ward took his place in the house of peers, as lord Ward, in January 1697, and as lord Dudley, on the death of Frances, his mother, in 1701.

Edward, the second lord Ward, and first lord Dudley of this family, took his seat in the house of lords, as lord Ward, on the 5th December 1670 (22 Car 2), and attended the short parliament of 1 Jas. 2 (1685).* In the great constitutional struggle of 1688, being a zealous supporter of the Whig party, he was early in his attendance in the convention parliament; and, on the 31st January 1688-9 (1 Will. & Mary), when the lords, by a small majority, negatived the resolution of the commons, that "the throne was vacant," he, with 35 other peers, signed the protest against the decision. And again, on the 4th February, when the Tory peers insisted upon their amendment, he again joined in the protest against it, signed by 39 peers.† On the 2nd March, he took the new oaths of fealty to William and Mary, and continued to take an active part in politics, during this eventful period of our history. On the 28th January 1697-8 (9 W. 3) he took his seat as lord Dudley;‡ and, having survived his wife Frances, daughter of Sir William Brereton, who died in 1676, he was gathered to his fathers, and buried at Himley, August the 8th, 1701.§ He had a family of three sons and three daughters. John, the eldest, and Ferdinando, the

* Lords' Journals, ann. 1670 and 1685.

† Lords' Journals, 1688-9. See Macauley's Hist. of England.

‡ Lord's Journals for 1688-89-93-97-98. The Journal for 1697-8 erroneously states that he took his seat as lord Dudley "after the death of lord Dudley, his grandfather."

§ Shaw's Staff.

youngest, died unmarried. William, the second son, married his cousin Frances, daughter of William Dilke, Esq., of Maxtock castle, Warwickshire; and, dying in his father's lifetime, was buried at Himley, leaving three sons:—Edward; John, who died an infant; William; and a daughter, Frances.*

Edward, second lord Dudley, and third lord Ward, succeeded his grandfather in 1701; and, having married Diana, daughter of Thomas Howard, Esq., of Ashted, Surrey, died March 28, 1704, in his minority leaving his lady, (who died March 17, 1709,) pregnant with—

Edward, third lord Dudley, and fourth lord Ward, who, upon attaining his majority in 1725, took his seat in the house of lords, as Edward, lord Dudley and Ward.† He died September 6th, 1731, unmarried, and was buried at Ashted, where his mother was also interred.

The titles and estates descended to William, his uncle, being the fourth lord Dudley, and fifth lord Ward, who died a bachelor at Himley, in May 1740; whereupon the two baronies became separated; the former going to the heirs general, the latter to the heirs male.

The barony of Dudley devolved on Ferdinando Dudley Lea, nephew of the last lord, and son of William Lea, of Halesowen Grange, Shropshire, by

* Collins' Peerage.

† Lord's Journals, 1725. (12 Geo. 1.)

Frances his wife, who was sister of the last lord, and died 24th January 1737. This William Lea had also a son William, who died a bachelor, and five daughters. Ann, the eldest, married William Smith, of Ridgacre, Shropshire, from whom the late Ferdinando Smith, Esq., of Halesowen Grange, was descended. Ferdinando Dudley Lea succeeded his uncle as fifth baron Dudley, but, dying unmarried on 21st October 1757, the barony of Dudley became, and still remains, in abeyance.

The barony of Ward devolved on John Ward, Esq., of Sedgley Park, Staffordshire, grandson of William Ward, of Willingsworth, third son of Humble, first lord Ward, before mentioned. This William died in January 1713-4, leaving issue by Anne his wife, daughter and sole heir of Thomas Parkes, of Willingsworth, three sons and three daughters.* Of the sons, Humble died in his infancy, and Dudley unmarried.† William, the second son, served for Staffordshire in the last parliament but one of queen Anne, and in that in the 1 Geo. I. (1714), and died October 25th, 1720, leaving by Mary, daughter of the hon. John Grey, of Enfield Hall, three sons, Humble, John and William, and four daughters. Humble died in his infancy; William, the third son, was rector of Kingswinford and Himley, in Staffordshire, from whom the present earl Dudley is descended.

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* Collins' Peerage.

† Britton's Beauties of England and Wales.

John, the second son, born March 6, 1704, was one of the members for the borough of Newcastle-under-lyne, Staffordshire, in the first parliament of George II. (1727).* His conduct towards the Rev. Samuel Bourne, a highly respectable dissenting minister residing at Coseley, was most intolerant and vindictive. Having unsuccessfully endeavoured to oppress this learned divine, by obliging him to take and maintain a parish apprentice, an attempt which was defeated in two appeals from his decision to the quarter sessions, Mr. Ward, assisted by a Mr. R. Sedgwick tried to remove him to his last legal settlement, under the pretext that he was likely to become chargeable to the parish. These proceedings called forth a dignified and indignant protest from him; and, in a letter of the 27th December, 1738, he states,—"Your order is grounded upon two allegations; namely,—that I was an intruder into the parish, &c., and that the place of my last legal settlement was Adlington, &c.

"This latter allegation is very true. But I make bold to deny the former as wholly groundless, and which I am able to disprove. In regard I came into the parish upon the unanimous invitation of a numerous congregation of Protestant Dissenters; which invitation was signed by above a hundred persons, many of them substantial yeomen, farmers and tradesmen, and most of them inhabitants of the parish; and as this is agreeable to the most primitive way of

* Collins and Britton.

ministers and bishops settling with a people; so I take it to be as honourable a way as any by which any clergyman in the county came into his present settlement."

After alluding to the attempt to impose a parish apprentice upon him, which was defeated by the judgment of the quarter sessions, upon appeal; and to a complaint by one of the churchwardens, that he was likely to become chargeable to the parish, he continues:—"Besides the weakness and absurdity of such reasoning, I may venture to say in my own behalf, and in answer to that allegation, that I have voluntarily (which surely is a nobler principle than fear or force) contributed to the relief and ease of the parish, and perhaps in as great a degree as any man in the parish. I think I can make it appear, that in six years and a half, I have, in money, clothes, and books, distributed forty pounds; besides almost daily charities amongst my poor neighbours. And I beg leave to name one instance: when the lord of the parish had been visiting the cottages (between five and eight hundred of which are reckoned to be in the parish) and had put the miserable, hungry, naked cottagers upon a rack rent, I heard the cries of the distressed, obtained some relief for them, and at Christmas last distributed a good share of twenty pounds worth of clothes amongst the half-starved wretches, most of whom Mr. Ward will possibly acknowledge to be his tenants.

"In requital for these, I hope, good deeds, I am harrassed with indentures, war, and orders, and am to be sent out of the parish." This was conclusive, and no further proceedings were taken.*

In May 1740, this John succeeded to the title of baron Ward, being the sixth who enjoyed that honour; and in 1763 (3 George III.) the dignity of Viscount Dudley and Ward, of Dudley, in the county of Worcester, was granted to him and his heirs male, by letters patent, dated 23rd April in that year; and he died on the 6th May 1774 (15 Geo. III.). He twice married.—1st, on 26th December 1723, Anna Maria, daughter of Charles Bourchier, Esq., of Dublin, by whom he had one son, John; and 2ndly, on 4th January 1744-5, Mary, daughter and heir of John Carver, Esq., of London, by whom he had two sons, Humble, who died an infant, and William.†

John, the son by his first wife, succeeded him, and was the second viscount. In 1754 (27 Geo. II) he was elected a member of parliament for the borough of Marlborough (since disfranchised), and in 1761 (1 Geo. III.), and again in 1768 (8 Geo. III.), for Worcestershire, and succeeded to the title in 1774 (15 Geo. III.). He married Mrs. Baker in July 1788, and died in the October following, without issue,

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* Memoirs of Rev. Samuel Bourne, by Dr. Toulmin, Birmingham, 1808.

† Collins' Peerage.

whereupon William, his half-brother, enjoyed the title and estates. *

On the 1st August 1780 (20 Geo. III.) William, the third viscount, married Julia, second daughter of Godfrey Bosville, Esq., and died on 25th April 1823 (4 Geo. IV.), leaving issue, one son, John William, the late earl Dudley.

John William Ward was born August 9, 1781, and soon after attaining his majority was returned as one of the members for Worcestershire, and afterwards for the borough of Wareham, in Dorsetshire, since disfranchised. He was intimate with, and a great admirer of the eminent statesman, George Canning. When the latter in 1822 (3 Geo. IV.), upon the death of the marquis of Londonderry, was appointed Foreign Secretary, he offered him the post of under-secretary. After great hesitation, he declined the offer. In a letter to the bishop of Landaff, on the 30th Septem-

* Ib. It is not clear how the half-brother managed to obtain the title of viscount, and succeed to the estates, in exclusion of his uncle William, the heir of the whole blood. The rule of inheritance was so strict, that the lord of the manor, or even the crown, was entitled to all real property, sooner than the half-blood should inherit; and the title of viscount, following the same rule, and being limited to the heirs male, would have become extinct. It would appear that the Rev. William Humble Ward, the grandson of the Rev. William Ward, Rector of Kingswinford, who was about five years old at this time, and who became tenth lord Ward, was the legal heir. This law, based upon strictly feudal principles, was abolished by an Act introduced into the House of Commons by lord Campbell, whilst he represented the borough of Dudley in parliament.

ber, in referring to this matter, he observes,—"In one determination you will, I am persuaded, think me right—not to accept, if my father should declare himself positively against it. His general authority as a father is, in this instance, very much strengthened by the obligation I am under to him for the liberal way in which he has so often brought me into parliament. I have written to him, but I have not yet got an answer." On the 18th October, after he had declined the offer, he writes,—"The pleasure, too, which my decision has evidently given to my father, makes me glad that I did not avail myself of an extorted consent to that, which, after all, would have vexed and mortified him. He has behaved to me, in this instance, with equal good sense and kindness." On the 19th October, he reverts to the subject:—"My father is *very* much pleased that I have not accepted, and that, at least, is a certain advantage on the side I have preferred. He is a high tory, but of a very peculiar breed—devoted to courts and ministers, and wholly indifferent to the favours they have to bestow. He has a right to talk to me about independence, as he supplies me so nobly with the means of maintaining it." *

Upon the death of his father, in 1823, he succeeded to the title of viscount Dudley and Ward, being the fourth viscount; and in 1827 (8 Geo. IV.),

* See Letters of the Earl of Dudley to the Bishop of Llandaff. London. 1840.

WOLVERHAMPTON PUBLIC LIBRARIES

when his friend Mr. Canning was commissioned to form a ministry, he accepted the office of Secretary of State for Foreign affairs. Upon which occasion he was, by letters patent, dated 24th September 1827, created earl Dudley, of Dudley castle, in the county of Stafford, and viscount Ednam, of Ednam, in the county of Roxburgh.

He continued in the office of Foreign Secretary during the administration of Mr. Canning; through the brief succeeding one of lord Goderich; and for a short time during that of the duke of Wellington. On the 30th May, in 1828 (9 Geo. IV.) his lordship, with Mr. Huskisson, viscount Palmerston, and Mr. Charles Grant, quitted the ministry of the noble duke and never again took office.

He died on the 6th March 1833 (3 Will. IV.), unmarried; whereupon all his newly acquired honours became extinct. Thus titles, like ghosts,

"Come like shadows,—so depart."

Soon after his decease, the late Dr. Copplestone, bishop of Llandaff, with whom he maintained a frequent correspondence, printed a volume of his lordship's letters to him, sparkling with wit, and containing acute observations on the state of society, both in this country and on the continent. Unfortunately his lordship's executors, distrusting the discretion of the bishop, objected to the publication; but afterwards withdrew their opposition in favour of the volume already printed. The following extracts

from the preface will sufficiently explain the facts of the case. After stating his reasons for publishing some of his letters, the bishop continues:—"An advertisement was accordingly inserted in the usual way, announcing the work as soon about to appear. It was then that I received, to my great surprise, an official notice that the executors objected to the publication thus announced; upon which, having taken legal advice, and being informed that if application were made by the executors to the Court of Chancery, an injunction would probably be granted, I signified my acquiescence in their private injunction, and abandoned the design.

"A few months after this affair, the letters already printed were shown to one individual only, who was an intimate friend of the deceased, and in the same rank of life. His opinion and wishes were expressed to me in the strongest terms, that the publication might go on, and through his means a personal communication took place between lord Hatherton, one of the executors, and myself. By his recommendation, the letters having been shown to the other executors, their objection to the publication was withdrawn; and I am now at liberty to do, what I hope it will not be thought rash or presumptuous in me to have intended doing upon my own responsibility. To their legal right, as soon as I was informed of it, I paid immediate submission; but their individual judgment and authority on such a point, as far as that depends

upon long and intimate friendship with the writer, I deemed far inferior to my own."

The bishop concludes an interesting preface as follows:—"It was not my intention to write a full biographical memoir of lord Dudley, nor to enter into a very minute delineation of his character. A just idea indeed of that character may better be collected from his letters, than from any portrait which my own pen could draw. If another volume of these letters should be permitted to appear, there will be an opportunity of completing this sketch, and of giving a general view of the principal incidents, and the course of his life. The first letter is dated December 27, 1799,—the last, February 11th, 1831. That they are all equally worthy of publication, cannot be supposed or pretended; but I assert with confidence, that they all bear marks of the same intellectual and manly character—strong sense, acute, yet candid observation on men and manners, and political affairs—original and deep reflection, combined with a lively imagination, and a knowledge of books, and of the world, rarely found united in the same individual.

"They afford also the same evidence of a sincere, virtuous and honourable mind, intent upon being useful, and upon performing his duty well in public and private life—exhibiting, in the season of youth, as well as in more advanced age, that most engaging of all compounds, a playful fancy joined with a vigorous understanding and a serious heart. Intel-

lectual energy, and contempt for an idle and indulgent life, are also prominent features in his correspondence from its very commencement; and this, together with his extensive reading, and his exquisite taste in literature, makes one lament that he has left behind him no other productions of his pen (although he certainly wrote a great deal) besides letters to his friends, and a few papers in the Quarterly Review. Some of these are by name acknowledged in the following collection; of others, the authorship, though generally attributed to him, must still remain matter of conjecture.

"It would, however, be almost injustice to his memory not to state, as the result of my own unvarying experience, that a deep and awful sense of religion formed one ingredient of his character, together with a hatred of profaneness in those who profess outwardly a belief in Christianity. He was distinguished also by constancy in friendship, gratitude for acts of kindness, and for benefits of any sort, warm affection and esteem for real friends, considerate and kind behaviour towards dependents and inferiors, and a never-failing sense of filial duty and respect. His main infirmity, which increased with years and with the accession of large property, consisted in a sensitive apprehension of being duped or over-reached in ordinary transactions; and this vigilant and over-nice jealousy was often construed into a closeness and parsimony unbecoming his great fortune. His

expenditure was indeed carefully, but not sparingly regulated; and the duty of almsgiving, and of contributing to charitable and religious objects, was never forgotten. As an example, I might refer to one donation of £200, bestowed unhesitatingly, at my recommendation, to a single family in distress.

"I should here be content to close my preliminary observations; but, in compliance with the desire of his executors, I have to state, that a testamentary paper, in his own handwriting, enjoined them to burn his papers and correspondence unread; and further, that in the *post-mortem* examination, which took place by eminent professional men, a formation in the brain was discovered, which they think affords a satisfactory solution of some peculiarities in his last illness." *

By his will, dated the 26th July 1831, he gave Himley Hall, and £6000 a year, to his cousin and successor, the Rev. William Humble Ward, for his life; and, having made provision for the maintenance of his family in the meantime, he directed that, during a term of twelve years from his decease, the residue of the income arising from his estates, should be laid out in purchasing real property, to be entailed in the manner directed by his will, as to the property therein devised. If the Rev. William Humble Ward died within the twelve years, he directed that £3000 a year should be raised for his eldest son William, until he attained the age of 21 years, and afterwards

* See Preface to the Letters.

£8000 a year during the said term of 12 years. For the maintenance of the younger children, he gave a yearly sum of £500 a piece until they were of age; when he gave £20,000 to Humble Dudley, the son, and £10,000 to Susannah Julia, the daughter. After the expiration of the 12 years, all the estates, both those originally possessed by the testator, and those purchased under his will, were limited to William (eldest son of the Rev. William Humble Ward, and present earl Dudley) and his assigns for his life, and afterwards strictly entailed on his sons. If he die without a son, they were limited to Humble Dudley Ward (the second son) and his assigns, for his life, with a strict entail upon his sons. On failure of male issue from him, the estates are entailed; in the first place, on the daughters of William Ward, (the present earl,) and secondly, in default of such female issue, to the daughters of the said Humble Dudley Ward. In default of such male and female issue of the two sons, the estates are limited to Susannah Julia Ward, daughter of the said Rev. William Humble Ward, and her assigns, for life; and after her death are strictly entailed, first, on her sons; and afterwards on her daughters. In the event of all dying without leaving any issue, the estates are given to Ferdinando Smith, of the Grange, in the parish of Halesowen, in the county of Salop, his heirs and assigns for ever. *

* See Stat. 6 and 7, Will. 4, being "An Act for authorizing a sale of Glebe lands belonging to the vicarage of Dudley." Fer-

Upon the death of the earl, the honour of viscount Dudley and Ward also became extinct, but that of baron Ward survived, and went to his second cousin, the Rev. William Humble Ward, grandson of the Rev. William Ward, the Rector of Kingswinford and Himley, the brother to the first viscount.

The Rev. William Ward married Elizabeth, the daughter of John Hawkes, Esq.; and, dying on the 21st July 1758, was buried at Himley, leaving issue a son, Humble, and a daughter, Frances. The latter married Washington Shirley, earl Ferrers, and died 4th March 1812. Humble Ward, who was a barrister, married Susannah Beecroft in 1779, and died January 9, 1785, leaving the Rev. William Humble Ward, his only child.

He was born on the 9th January 1781 (22 Geo. III.) and, on the death of his cousin, on the 6th March 1833 (3 Will. IV.) he became tenth lord Ward. He did not, however, long enjoy his honours, as he died on the 6th December 1835. On the 22nd May 1816 he married Amelia, daughter of William Cooch Pillans, Esq., by whom he left issue two sons, William and Humble Dudley, and a daughter, Susannah Julia, all mentioned in the late earl's will. He also had two other daughters, Amelia and Anna Maria, who died under age in his lifetime.

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dinando Smith was heir-at-law of Ann, eldest daughter and one of the five co-heiresses of Frances Ward, who married William Lea, of the Grange, Halesowen, amongst whom the ancient barony of Dudley is in abeyance.

William, the eldest son, born March 27, 1817, upon the death of his father (6 Will. IV.) became the eleventh lord Word; but did not enter into possession of the family estates until the year 1845 (8 Vic.) when the twelve years expired, during which, by the terms of the late earl's will, the larger part of the income was to be invested by the Trustees in the purchase of real property. It is said they had upwards of £80,000 a year so to invest, and with it they purchased of lord Foley, estates at Hurcot, near Kidderminster, and afterwards all his property at Whitley, including Whitley court, the princely residence of the present earl.

On the 24th April, 1851, his lordship married Selina Constance de Burgh, eldest daughter of Hubert de Burgh, Esq., of West Drayton, born 11th November, 1829. Her married career, however, was short and melancholy; and after a painful illness, she died at Schwalbach, in the Duchy of Nassau, on the 14th of November following. Her remains were brought over to England, and buried in the family vault at Himley.

In 1860, the titles of viscount Ednam and earl of Dudley were revived; and it was duly gazetted, that "on the 13th February, the dignities of viscount and earl of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, were granted unto William baron Ward, and to the heirs male of his body, lawfully begotten, by the titles of viscount Ednam, of Ednam, in the

county of Roxburgh, and earl of Dudley, of Dudley castle, in the county of Stafford."

On the 21st November, 1865, the earl of Dudley married secondly, Georgiana Elizabeth, the 3rd daughter of Sir Thomas Moncrieffe, Bart., at St. Paul's, Knightsbridge; upon which occasion, the inhabitants of Dudley presented to the bride, a rich bracelet, of the value of £550. and had great festivities in the town.

Humble Dudley Ward, the second son, was born 20th December, 1821, and on the 17th December, 1843, married Eleanor Louisa, third daughter of the late Thomas Hawkes, Esq., M.P., and has issue, William Humble Dudley, b. 19th February, 1849; Amelia Alice Julia, m. 10th June, 1865, to Captain James Keith Fraser, 1st Life Guards, A.D.C., and another daughter, Henrietta Maria.

The daughter, Susannah Julia, on the 14th June, 1842, married the Rev. Thomas Leigh Claughton, vicar of Kidderminster, by whom she has several children.

HISTORY OF THE CASTLE DURING THE CIVIL WAR.

"Gloomy troops
Of centinels, in stern and silent ranks,
Encompass it around."

SHELLEY.

THE only historical event connected with the castle, occured in those interesting and eventful times, when the obstinacy and utter want of faith of Charles the First, brought his life and reign to an untimely end.

We have seen that, at the commencement of the struggle, Colonel Leveson held it for the king, who considered it a place of very great consequence, and wrote to the lord Dudley, and others, and upon his death, to the lady Dudley, desiring them to assist the Colonel in defending it. On the 2nd July, 1643, the king authorized the Colonel to send forth warrants to the inhabitants of the several towns and parishes of the hundreds of Seisden and Cuttleston, for such reasonable supply and provisions, by way of contribution, as should be thought needful for the said garrison.*

* Shaw's Staff., vol. 2, p. 145.

The following extracts from a number warrants issued under these powers to the constable of Wrottesley, afford a curious glimpse of the oppression and extortion exercised upon the inhabitants of a country during a civil war.*

On the 21st November, he is required to furnish his rateable part of £300. for the maintenance of the garrison; and also of seven score beds; and on the 13th December, a weekly contribution of 12 quarters of oats "well dressed and winnowed," for which he is to be allowed 6d. a strike; and in default, the Colonel threatens the constables that he will be enforced "to "send his troopes to quarter at their houses, for want "of provision." He is also required to charge "all the teams within his constablewick, to be ready at the castle upon the 15th December, by seaven of the clock in the morning." On the 19th of the same month, the Colonel writes in wrath to the constable, complaining that he had "contemptuously disobeyed his warrants, in not sending so many teames as had been required (and sometimes not at all);" and requiring him to press and bring four sufficient able, teams, to be ready the next day at Pepperhill Park by seaven of the clock in the morning, to load timber to be used at the castle; and threatening, that if he made default, he would enforce him (the Colonel) to

* The originals of these warrants were in the possession of Sir John Wrottesley, Bart., and are printed in the General History prefixed to Shaw's Staffordshire.

send to him in such a way, so unpleasing to him, that he would ever wish heareafter he had yielded more obedience to his warrants.

On the 3rd January, 1643-4, the petty constables were "to collect their rateable part of £300. imposed upon the hundred, towards the maintenance of the garrison. And they were directed to ease the poor, and to lay so much as their part amounted to, upon the abler sort. And, on the 25th, the Wrottesley constable is required to furnish within two days, his rateable part of 140 feather beds, with sheets, blankets, and bolsters, and all things necessary, belonging to the same. On the 20th February, the Byshbury constable is directed to assess a rateable portion of the contribution, according to the Act made for the raising of £40,000., wherein the tithes are expressed to contribute.

The king's cause was not very popular; as we find men of the garrison deserting; others pressed for his service; and great difficulty experienced in procuring means for carrying on the war.

On the 8th March, Prince Rupert writes from Salop to the neighbouring bailiffs and constables, requiring them to "make diligent search and enquiry in their town and neighbourhood for all the soldiers of Col. Leveson, and to return them unto their garrison at Dudley; and suffer them not thereafter to go into, or abide in, any of their towns or hamlets upon pain of confiscation of their goods."

On the 1st April, five men were pressed for his majesty's service, at Dudley castle, by the constables of Mavesyn Ridware, who inform us, they were sent to Rushall Hall.* And, on the 24th, the Wrottesley constable is required to bring into the garrison, for the supply of Prince Rupert's army, his rateable part of 20 quarters of wheat; 20 quarters of maslin, or muncorn; 40 quarters of malt; 20 cwt. of salt butter; 20 cwt. of bacon; and 40 cwt. of good and sound cheese. The same to be safely kept at Dudley castle until his highness send for it; which, if he do not, the colonel said it should be restored unto the country again, or satisfaction in money made for the same; and he is recommended not to fail therein, "lest the prince's forces be enforced to fetch it."

The same constable, on the 13th May, is required by Col. Leveson, upon command of Prince Rupert, to bring into the garrison next day, by six o'clock in the morning, his proportionable number of 300 workmen or pioneers, furnished with spades, mattocks, crows of iron, baskets, and such like tools for fortification; the performance of which was of such consequence, that whoever neglected the same, the said colonel said, should forfeit their estates, and be liable besides, to be censured by a counsell of war, for the contempt of his highness's command.

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* Shaw's Staff., vol 1, p. 198. It is difficult to say why these men were sent to Rushall Hall, which was a parliamentary garrison.

It was at this time that the parliamentary forces under the earl of Denbigh, drew near, to lay siege to the castle; and, according to a letter from him, on the 6th June, and another from the committee, then resident at Dudley, sent to the committee at Stafford, touching the payment of the arrears of col. Ashenhurst, his soldiers, it was ordered that certain payments formerly assigned to him, should go for the payment of his soldiers, until the 30th May, then last; and the earl's carriages were conveyed to Rushall and Dudley about the same time.*

Lieutenant-Col. Beaumont commanded during the siege. Historians are not agreed as to the result. Mr. Grose relates, that the siege continued three weeks; at the expiration of which time, on the 11th of June, the garrison was relieved by a detachment of the king's forces from Worcester. The parliamentary army left 100 men dead on the field; and two majors of foot, two captains, three lieutenants, with fifty common soldiers, were taken prisoners. The loss on the king's side was inconsiderable.† Whilst Oldmixon relates, that "his majesty being informed that the earl of Denbigh, col. Mytton, and Sir Thomas Middleton, had besieged the castle, he sent the lord Wilmot, with the earl of Northampton, and the earl of Cleveland's brigade of horse, and 1000 foot, to raise the siege. Wilmot

* Shaw's General Hist., pp. 67, 70.
† Grose's Antiquities, vol. 3.

charged the parliament's forlorn under Mytton, with such fury, that his forces were all like to be cut off; and several officers advised Denbigh not to quit his trenches to relieve his friends, but there to abide the coming of the royalists. The earl, who had sent out Mytton to meet them, resolved at all ventures to assist him, and, drawing out his troops, led them on in person, giving the cavaliers so smart a charge, that he not only relieved his friends, but repulsed the king's party." *

There is some discrepancy between these two statements; but the latter is corroborated by the two accounts quoted by Dr. Booker, in his history of the castle; and by the fact that the parliamentarians remained masters of the field :—for, on the 14th June, George Liddiatt, their commissary, required the constable of Rochley (Wrottesley) to bring into the house of Dudley certain proportions of provisions for the relief of the king and parliament's army, then under the earl of Denbigh.† The result does not

* Oldmixon's History of England, p. 256, a.

† Shaw's Staff., Gen. Hist. It is evident that the battle occurred before the date of this warrant. Mr. Grose says, on the 11th June; one of the accounts quoted by Dr. Booker says, on Wednesday, the 12th June; and the other says that "certain information came of it about the 12th of this instant (June)." From the provisions, consisting of 400 pounds of bread, 300 pounds of cheese, 3 pots of butter, 3 muttons, 3 veals, 3 flitches of bacon, 2 quarters of oats, and 2 quarters of malt, it is evident that the forces were almost entirely foot soldiers, the quantity of horse provender being so small. Tradition states that this battle was fought on the east side of Cawney Hill.

appear to have been of a decisive character, for the siege was soon afterwards abandoned, and the castle maintained for the king very nearly two years longer.

To repair the damage done during the siege, lieut-col. Beaumont, required the Wrottesley constable, on the 22nd June, to bring "his rateable number of 50 able workmen, with spades, mattocks, picks, and baskets, to continue there during the space of a month," and "to provide provision to maintain them during the said time." And, on the day following, "to charge, presse, and bring into Dudley castle, his rateable part of four able teams to carry lime, coals, wood, timber, stone, and hay, for the use of his majesty's garrison there." On the 4th July, he is required to collect his rateable proportion of £300., imposed upon this hundred (monthly) towards maintaining the garrison.*

It was about this time, that col. Leveson, endeavoured by intrigue and corruption to get possession of Rushall Hall, as appears from the proceedings of a court martial, which sat at Guildhall, London, on the 8th October, when one, Francis Pitt, of Wolverhampton, Yeoman, was tried. He was 65 years old, and one that (as he said at his execution) had been a great professor. He held a farm for life of col. Leveson, who, we are informed, was "a papist governor of Dudley castle," who prevailed with him, having some occasion to go frequently to Rushall

* Shaw's Staff.

hall, a garrison of the parliament, to carry a letter to captain Juthill, the governor there, offering him £2000. if he would betray and surrender that garrison; to which Juthill seemed to consent, and this Pitt often went between them, till, at last, Juthill having by this negotiation got some prisoners released, seized Pitt:—notwithstanding which, a party from Leveson came up according to agreement, and faced Rushall hall; but, instead of being admitted, had two drakes discharged upon them, and some killed.

This Pitt confessed the whole matter, and being on the 12th October brought to execution in Smithfield, made a long speech to the people, was very large in acknowledging his sins, expressed his sorrow for attempting the fact for which he was to suffer, and prayed fervently and devoutly.*

If col. Leveson had not then, he certainly had in May, 1645, resumed the command of the castle; and, in 1646, shortly before it was surrendered, he demolished the church of St. Edmund's at its foot, on account of its nearness thereto.†

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* Rushworth's Historical Collections, 3rd pt., vol. 2.

† Dug. Bar. In the parish register is the following:—"Note.—That the church of St. Edmund being demolished by Col. Leveson in 1646, both parishes did meet in that of St. Thomas, and be came as one in all administrations, and so in their officers within a few years after, so that the register book became one also from thenceforth." In the face of this entry, in his own parish register, Dr. Booker has the hardihood to assert that the Parliamentary party, "at the time they bombarded the castle, [which was in 1644,] took especial care to make of God's house at its foot a

There is no more fighting recorded. At the expiration of a period of repose, of nearly two years, the castle was quietly surrendered to the parliament upon the terms mentioned in the following.

Articles agreed upon the 10th day of May, 1646, between lieutenant-colonel Beaumont, major Christopher Henningham, and major John Gifford, deputed on behalf of col. Leveson, governor of the castle of Dudley, and colonel Skipkins, lieutenant colonel Hunt, and captain Stone, commissioners appointed by Sir William Brereton, commander-in-chief of the forces employed for redusing the said castle, touching the surrender thereof:—

1. That all gentlemen with their servants, and all officers in commission, shall march away with their horses and arms, so that they exceed not the number

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ruinous heap." The doctor continues:—"The memorial of their misdoings stands recorded in an ancient document of the parish, containing these remarkable words,—'In a parcel of land, being about an acre and a half, near the church-yard, stood the vicarage house of St. Edmund's; but when the church itself was burnt down and demolished, in the time of the late civil wars, those *glorious* tines, when religion was reformed to nothing, and churches were refined to rubbage, or prostituted to the vilest uses, then the house was burnt with it; and both are buried in their ruins." The "ancient document of the parish," which contains this elegant and veracious "memorial" is nothing but a terrier, drawn up by the vicar and churchwardens in 1714, nearly 70 years afterwards, when it did not require very great courage to kick the dead lion. But even this "memorial" does not say who it was that burnt the church and house, which were not pulled down until 1646, two years after the siege; it remained for the active imagination of Dr. Booker to supply this omission. [See Booker's Hist. of the castle, p. 97.]

of 30. And all common soldiers that will march to any of the king's garrisons, unbesieged, without their armes, and all such as will live at their owne houses, to have protections, submitting themselves to all ordinances of parliament, and all gentlemen souldiers, and others, to carry with them their owne proper goods, and no more.

2. That they shall have two moneths time to consider whether they will live at home, or depart the kingdome, without molestation or arrest for any hostel act, or debt, so far as in our power; and to have passes for that purpose; provided, in the mean time, they do nothing prejudiciall to the Parliament.

3. That at the end of two moneths, all that will live at their houses, shall enjoy their goods and estates without plunder or molestation, submitting to all ordinances of parliament. And such as will goe beyond seas, to have passes accordingly, and convenient time allowed them to travel to any port towne, to take shipping, with passes accordingly.

4. That no oath shall be imposed on any officers or souldiers that shall choose to goe to the said garrisons, during the time of their march.

5. That a sufficient convoy be appoynted to such as will march away, and carriages provided for their goods; and not to be forced to march above ten miles a day, and to have free quarter in their march, and care taken that no abuse be offered to their persons, or any of their proper goods diminished.

6. That all the prisoners in this countie, belonging to this garrison, shall be released, and likewise all countrymen and souldiers in the castle set at liberty.

7. That the governor shall, on Wednesday next, by 12 of the clock, deliver up the said castle, with all the ordnance, armes, and ammunition, victuals, provisions, goods, bedding, and all other accommodation, necessary and belonging to the said castle (except what is allowed by the aforesaid articles), and all those safe and unspoyled, unto the said Sir William Brereton, or whom he shall appoynt for service of the parliament.

8. That (parliament giving order) the works, wals, and towre of the said castle shall be sleighted, and made uncapable of a garrison.

9. That all goods in the castle, that lawfully can be claimed and owned by any of the country, shall be restored.

10. That all wounded souldiers shall have liberty to remaine in the towne till they are cured, and then have passes, according to the articles.

Commissioners for the king.	Commissioners for the parliament.
John Beaumont,	Robert Stepkin,
Christopher Heveningham,	Robert Hunt,
John Gifford.	Henry Stone.*

These terms were so favourable to the garrison, and the castle given up so easily, that the royalists

* See Dr. Booker's History of the castle.

accused colonel Leveson of treachery. One writer, after the surrender of Madresfield house, by captain Aston, observes:—"There were never four such governors as Sir Michael Woodhouse, of Ludlow, col. Lucen, * of Dudley, captn. Will. Sandes, of Hartlebury, and captn. Edwd. Aston, of Madresfield, which delivered up traiterously, cowardly, and basely, four such strongholds, the weakest whereof could withstand an army, as themselves asserted, for a quarter of a year, if victuals and ammunition could have lasted; but the golden hook was supposed to have been swallowed."† This aspersion on the loyalty of the colonel, is, I believe, unfounded. The king's cause had, at this time, become utterly hopeless. He had, as a last and desperate resource, surrendered to the Scottish army, and the few garrisons which remained, with no army in the field, could not receive any assistance. Nothing, therefore, remained for the governors of these fortresses, but to make the best terms they could. This state of things was sure to make the more enthusiastic and rabid royalists suspect treachery, where none existed. The king accused even Prince Rupert of treachery, in surrendering Bristol in the September preceeding. (1645).‡

* Leveson is pronounced "Lucen."

† Mr. Townshend's MSS. account in Nash's Worcestershire, vol. 2, App. p. xcix.

‡ See Pictorial Hist. of England. The castle was among the last which held out for the king. Oxford surrendered on the 24th June; Worcester, on the 23rd July; and Ragland castle on the 19th August.

The House of Commons, acting under the eighth article, on the 2nd March, 1646-7, resolved that the castle should forthwith be made untenable, and referred it to a committee of the county to see it done. For some reason unknown, this resolution was not acted upon; and on the 19th July following, the house resolved to adhere to their former vote of making the castle untenable, when, no doubt, it was reduced to the defenceless state in which Dr. Plot found it forty years afterwards.*

* Erdeswick's Staff. Harwood's edit.

HISTORICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE CASTLE.

The weed mourns on the castle wall,
The grass lies on the chamber floor,
And on the hearth, and in the hall,
Where merry music danced of yore!
All is gone: save a voice
That never yet did rejoice;
'Tis sweet and low; 'tis sad and lone,
And it biddeth us love the thing that's flown.

BARRY CORNWALL.

It has been already shown that there is no evidence of any castle existing here before the Conquest. Afterwards William Fitz Ansculf had "a castle here," about 1080, as we learn from the Domesday Survey, commenced in that year. The whole account is curious.

Isd. W. (illelmus) ten. Dudelei, et ibi est castellū ejus. Hoc m̄ (anerium) tenuit Edvinus comes. Ibi i. hida. In dn̄io ē 1 car. et iii vill. et x bord. et un faber. cū x car. Ibi ii servi et ii leuud. silvæ. T. R. E. valb. iiii lib. modo iii lib.

Isd. W. ten. Belintones in castellaria sua. Elric. et Holand. tenūer p. ii m̄. Ibi v hidæ. Trā ē v. car. wasta fuit et est. Ibi iiii qr̄. (quarentinæ) silvæ, sed est in foresta regis. Prata hūi (hujus) m̄. val iiii denar.

The following is a literal translation :—

"The said William holds Dudley, and there is his castle. Earl Edwin held this lordship. There is one hide. In demesne is one carucate, and three villains, and ten bordars, and one smith, with ten carucates. There are two bondmen, and two miles of woodland. In the time of King Edward it was valued at four pounds, now at three.

"The said William holds Belintones in his castlewick. Elric and Holand held it for two manors. There are five hides. The cultivated land is 5 carucates. It was, and is, waste. There are four furlongs of wood, but it is in the king's forest. The meadows of this manor are valued at four pence."

Belintones was, probably, the lower part of Dudley parish and Pensnet Chase. The latter is mentioned soon afterwards as being included in the king's forest of Kinver. Whence it appears that Fitz Ansculf had one hide of land, or about 100 acres of tillage and pasture land; of which one carucate was tillage, and two miles of woodland in Dudley. He also had three villains, who held the land they occupied at his will, had farms, and did his work of husbandry: ten bordars, who had bords or cottages, with ten carucates of land, on condition of supplying his table with small provisions, doing his domestic work, or any base service (*i. e.* other than military) he might require; a smith and two bondsmen, or servile tenants, who most likely had cottages; with 5 hides,

or 500 acres of waste lands in Belintones, in his castlewick, and two furlongs of wood there in the king's forest. We may picture to ourselves the castle of the lord standing on high, frowning on the lands below, and looking down on the little village at its foot with a patronizing air. The slaves of various degree, erecting their little cottages under the protection of their feudal tyrant; the smith, clanking at his anvil, shoeing the horses, or forging their warlike weapons, and rude agricultural implements; the villains, watching their lord's cattle on the wastes, cultivating his fields, or, with him, following the hunt through the woodlands, or over the wastes of Belintones and the surrounding manors: over

> Domains that once, at early morn,
> Rang to the huntsman's bugle horn!
> And chasing wide the wolf or boar,
> Bade the deep woodland vallies roar.
>
> BLOOMFIELD.

After Gervase Paganel, in 1174, had his castle demolished, for supporting young Henry against his father, he and his successors continued to reside on the same spot in an uncastellated mansion, until the latter part of the reign of Henry the 3d, when Roger de Somery began to make a castle of it; but was prohibited by the king to proceed therein without his special licence. However, in 1263 (48, H. 3) he obtained a licence "to make a castle of his manor house at Dudley, and the like of his manor of Weolegh." His grandson, John de Somery, in the early

part of the fourteenth century, either completed the building, or probably, from its style, rebuilt it, as appears from the report before mentioned, of his besetting men's houses in Staffordshire, and threatening to murder them unless they bribed him in contributing largely towards the building of his castle at Dudley. From the style of the building, it is probable that all the most ancient parts were built by this John, except the vault underneath the chapel. They consist of the keep, the south gateway, and the chapel, and some adjoining rooms. These, with some low buildings for offices, kitchens, &c., on the opposite side of the inner baily, or court, the whole surrounded with a moat, completed the establishment. The keep is of an oblong shape, having at each corner a semicircular tower, with winding staircases, all of limestone, with facings of a reddish sandstone. To prevent the undermining of the walls, the bases of the towers are enlarged, and gradually increase to their foundations; an improvement in building castles suggested in the twelfth century.* In examining the base apartment of the keep, instead of windows, we find loop-holes, having a flight of steps ascending to the apertures, for the use of cross bowmen, similar to what is engraved from Rochester castle by Mr. King, in his valuable and scarce account of ancient castles.† The entrance to the keep was

* See Fosbrook's Encycl. of Antiquities.

† See Shaw's Staffordshire, vol. 2.

through a low pointed gateway, in the middle of the curtain connecting the two towers on the north side. It was defended by a portcullis from above, which was strengthened by strong horizontal beams of wood. The holes in which they were withdrawn still remain, immediately on the right, as you enter.

The chapel stood over a vault, commonly, but erroneously, called the dungeon. The dungeon, or donjon, in ancient castles was its principal guard, in consequence of its strength. Beneath the keep were the vaults, in which prisoners were confined, whence the modern acceptation of the word dungeon. Chaucer, in the Knight's Tale, alludes to

> "The grete tour, that was so thikke and strong,
> Which of the castle was the chief dongeoun,
> (Ther as this knightes weren in prisoun,
> Of which I tolde yow, and telle schal,)
> Was evene joyning to the gardeyn wal."

The purpose for which the vault under the chapel was used is uncertain; and a fire place in its south-west corner fails to enlighten us on the matter. From the great irregularity of the layers of stone in the walls, the rudeness of construction, and the smallness of the windows in its thick walls, I think it likely that this vault formed part of the ancient manorhouse, and consequently is the most ancient part of the castle. The western window of the chapel still remains, a beautiful specimen of the flat pointed style of architecture, characteristic of these ancient portions of the castle; and which, an

elegant writer observes, "attained, it is considered, its more perfect state, during the reign of Hen. III., the period of the castle's restoration."* In the southern side is the entrance to the chapel from the court, reached by a flight of steps, the marks of which against the wall are still perceptible. The doorway is of that peculiar form, called "ogee," composed of the segments of four circles, prevalent in the fourteenth century.†

The south gateway was of great strength, defended in front by a dike or trench, crossed by a drawbridge. At the end of this was a large gateway, flanked with two circular towers, the lower parts of which still remain. The arch is singularly flat, and, with its two towers, was the work of an age later than the rest of the gateway, probably added by the Duke of Northumberland. Next to the flat gateway, stands the more ancient flat pointed archway, with walls 9 feet thick, and deep groves therein, where a heavy portcullis descended. A vaulted passage, with a machicollation, or trap door, in the top, connects this with another similar flat pointed archway, at the other end, having deep grooves in the thick walls, for another portcullis.

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* Sketch of Dudley Castle; its History, &c., by Rev. E. Sims. 1837.

† See Fosbrooke's Ency. of Antiquities. Dr. Booker calls the ogee doorway "a window of an elegant lancet form!" See his history, p. 30.

The Duke of Northumberland, in the early part of the 16th century, when he possessed the castle, greatly repaired it, and built that stately fabric on the north part, which was called the "new work." He likewise adorned the gate-house tower with the arms of Malpas, Somery, and the lion rampant, assumed by him for the coat of Sutton, curiously cut in large shields of stone, and fixed in the walls over the portcullis.*

The "new work" consisted of the great hall, and the other buildings between it and the northern gateway. The entrance was by a flight of steps on the eastern side of the court, ascending to a covered gallery, which ran along the front of the hall, over four arches, with its roof supported in the front upon fluted pillars. To the left the gallery led into an ante-room; and from thence, by a door on the right, into the magnificent hall, upwards of 75 feet in length, and having two rows of square mullioned windows; one on each side. Underneath extended a low room, forming the basement, dimly lighted with square windows, looking into the court.

At the north end of the basement room, a doorway leads across a narrow wedge-shaped passage into a room with an oriel window, looking into the court. The Rev. Mr. Sims observes: "The purposes for which this chamber was employed are very uncer-

* Dug. Bar. vol. 2, p. 220, a.

tain; scarcely a trace remaining in its present dilapidated condition on which to found a conjecture. Its traditionary name is 'the family dining-room,' or 'drawing room;' and the account given by an aged inhabitant of the town, who died ten years since, and who remembered the condition of the castle before its devastation by fire, on 24 July, 1750, seems to confirm the appellation. His statement was, 'that he well remembered the room in its furnished state; and that the walls were then covered with dark oak panelling, and decorated with tapestry."*

Beyond this room, on the other side of a passage, whence a flight of stairs conducted the servants to the grand hall, is the immense kitchen, on a scale suited to the magnitude of the hall. In it are two fire places, each 9 feet wide, large enough to roast an ox whole. The kitchen opened into a part of the court, at its northern end, separated from the rest by a low wall running across it, from the northwest corner of the kitchen to a square pillar near the little postern gate, in the wall on the opposite side of the court.

The marks where it joined the building, with its triangular-shaped coping, still remain; and, in a dry summer, the course of the foundation of the wall and pillar are clearly seen. The other buildings, between the kitchen and the northern gateway, were

* See his history of the castle, p. 19, published in 1837.

used as a brewhouse, bakehouse, and offices for the servants; and the beautiful octagon tower in the court was for the staircase to the upper rooms and the roof.*

From the irregular endings of the walls, and the doorway and stone steps, in the side of the northern gateway, it is evident that the buildings extended still further westerly. Some years ago, on digging for a foundation for a wall, the floor of a room about 3 feet from the surface was discovered, into which the doorway opened.

The several times in which the different parts of the castle have been erected, sufficiently account for the variety in style and diversity of workmanship which is observable throughout.

> Huge halls, long galleries, spacious chambers, join'd
> By no quite lawful marriage of the arts,
> Might shock a connoisseur; but when combin'd,
> Form'd a whole, which, irregular in parts,
> Yet left a grand impression on the mind,
> At least to those whose eyes are in their hearts,
> We gaze upon a giant for his stature,
> Nor judge, at first, if all be true to nature.
>
> BYRON.

Such must have been the appearance of this venerable pile when the imperious Elizabeth visited my lord and lady Dudley, in 1575; and when, ten

* The active imagination of Dr. Booker has converted this staircase tower, standing inside the court and buildings, which effectually prevented anything being seen outside, into a "watch-tower."

years later, Sir Amyas Powlett visited it, to ascertain if it would do for the prison of Mary Queen of Scots, then confined at Tutbury. As it has never before been printed, I give the whole of the following curious and interesting letter from Sir Amyas Powlett to Sir Francis Walsingham, knight, her majesty's principal secretary.

"Sir,—I would not faile, according to your former directions, to use all diligence for the removing of this Q. to Chartley, and to that purpose have caused greate store of woodd to be felled, sea coale and charke coale to be burned, tymber to be sawed, bere to be brewed, brick to be carried, and manie other like necessaries to be provided; but your letters of the iiiith of this present coming to my hands the vith of the same at ten of the clock at night, I retired my servants from Chartley, I discharged my carpenters and masons for one week, I disapointed as manie carriages as I could upon so short warninge, and stayed all my other proceedings there untill my returne from Dudley castle, where finding my L. Dudley absent I was forced to take my lodging in one of the poorest townes that I have sene in my life; and the next day tooke a full view of the castle, with the assent of my sayde L. who being then at Warwick, sent the keys with all expedition. The lodgings of this castle are not so manye in number as I would wishe, and are also verie little and straight, saving the lodgings which must serve for this Q. wch are so

faire and commodious as she cannot desire to haue them amended. Touchinge the rest of the howse, these defects and inconveniences following cannot be denied: There is great plenty of sea-coale, charke-coale, and fire woodd at hand, which cannot be had but for readie money, and therefore will prove chargeable when it shall be compared with the charge in other place, where fire woodd and coale came owt of the Queenes owne woodd, and cost nothing but the makinge. Also the howse is utterly destitute of table boord, cup boords, fowrmes (Q^{y}, benches) stooles and bedsteades, saving that the hall and greate chambre are provided of table boord; the furnishing of which said wants will prove to be a matter of some charge, which is not to be greatelie accounted of, if it be intended that this household shall remain there any tyme. A barn must be converted to a stable for the Govenors horses, a matter of no greate charge. This Queenes gentlemen servants will not like with their straight lodginge, because they have no inner chambers. The brewing vessels are somewhat decayed; and some are wanting, which may be supplied from Burton. The water for the kitchens and household must be fett out of the dikes without the gate, and yet some will say that the pump wch standith in the myddest of the court yf yt were clensed would furnishe sufficient and good water, but I find others that doubt thereof. The chamber windowes of this Q.

lodgings are open upon the park, as likewise the windowes of her kitchen, which I trust may be supplied by a good watch and a deep ditche, but specialie by this Q, infirmitie which will not permit her to run away on her feet. These defects are recompensed yn parte with the strength of the howse in other respects, and with manie other good commodities. The counties of Worcester and Warwick adjoining yelding good plentie of all kinds of victuals, and at reasonable prices, saving that corne groweth to be deere in all these parts. Thus, I have delivered unto you my simple opinion herein without partiality, referring the same to your better consideration, and so do forbeare to trouble you with anything ells until I shall hear from you what will be resolved herein. The provisions made at Chartley, of woodd, coals, bere &c., will be put away with help of Mr. Bagott with no great losse. I am now glad that I stayed my proceedings at Chartley, wherein I thought good to make choyse of the lesse damage, because if I proceeded in my work and carriage, and that the remove had bene disapointed, I had increased her majestyes charge greatele, and altered my L. of Essex howse in something which perchance would not have been pleasing to his L. These are the fruites of irresolution, charge to her majestie, trouble to the countrie in carriage, and the losse of my labour in vague journeys.

I have according to your directions carried this journey, and the dependence thereof in such sort, as

neither my household at Tutbury dothe know where I am, nor my L. of Essex servants at Chartley do think that any thing ys lesse intended then the dis-apoynting of the Scottish Quenes removal thither. I thinke myself much bound to God that I have not bene hindered by my gowte to perform all these journeys, a blessing whereof I had no hope in this season of the yeare; but this is in the goodness of God towarde me to supplie the want of my letter of assistance, which I trusted to have receaved long before this tyme. And although the remove to Dudley castle shall be resolved, yet I would be gladd to receave this letter for Mr. Bagot to serve my turne in case of necessitie during my abode at Tutburie, because I look every day for harme. I think myself assured by the sight of a memoriall sent this last weeke from C. [Serelles to Han, that the Scottishe gentlewoman came with the carrier to Tutburie the ix of this present. And whereas I wrote unto you that I would bestowe her with Mr. Baggot or Mr. Greysley untill I knew your pleasure, I have confidence that they would think themselves yll handled to be troubled with any belonging to this Q, and therefore have taken order with my wife to bestow her with an honest merchant of Burton. Being sorie that I have not heard from you herein by your last letters, but it may not seem strange that you forget these like trifles, in this busie and troublesome tyme. Yt maye please you to give me leave to say unto you once

againe that in respect of the long cariage, and greate charge wch will ensue of this remove to Dudley castle, I will not advise the same yf yt be not intended that wee shall remayne there some long tyme, and then some greater charge than those before remembered will not be yll bestowed. Yt seemeth that your doubt of the neighboures of Chartley wch will hardly be matched at Dudley castle, or ellswhere in these parts; Sir Walter Acton dwelling within thre miles, Mr. Bagot as neare, Mr. Trentam within six miles, all three lietenants of the sherr, Mr. Griesley within four miles by the late death of his mother, besides some others, well affected gentlemen of good calling, and among the rest of the good neighbours, my L. of Essex tenants, may not be forgotten. And thus not having wherewith ells to trouble you at this tyme, I committ you to the mercy and favour of the highest. From Rushall, the 11 November, 1585,

Your most assured poor friend,

A. POWLETT.*

From the letter of lord Dudley to Sir Amyas Powlett, in reference to this matter, being dated "Himley" or "Hemley," it appears that he had then ceased to reside in the castle, which accounts for the neglected state in which Sir Amyas found it.

Sampson Erdeswick, about ten years later, describes the castle as "a goodly built house, of an ancient

* State Papers relating to Scotland. Mary, Queen of Scots.

building, and large, with great trenches about it, hewn out of a hard rock, and a fair chief tower within it, on the south side." *

Thus it continued until the year 1647, when the House of Commons, acting on the 8th article of capitulation, "that (the parliament giving order) the works, wals, and towre of the said castle shall be sleighted (*i. e.* demolished), and made uncapable of a garrison," resolved that it should be made untenable. It was accordingly reduced by the parliamentary commissioners to the defenceless state in which Dr. Plot found it about the year 1686. The whole account of this author is curious, and, as a specimen of his loose, rambling style, is given entire. Treating of Aldridge and Hanbury, which lie high, he says:— "Both which, no doubt, enjoy a fresh pleasant air, though I must confess I should have liked them considerably better, had they been thinner beset with trees and inclosures; unless the buildings had surmounted the tops of them all, so as to have been more exposed to the ventilations of the air, as at Dudley castle, whose magnificent ruins, as well as habitable part, (built on a lofty rock) notwithstanding the shrubbs and trees all about it, are mounted so high above them all, as not only to afford a most wholsom air, but a delicat prospect over the county below it, as the reader cannot but be satisfied it must needs do

* See his History of Staffordshire, commenced in 1593, and continued until his death, in 1603.

from the sculpture of Tab. 7, which, notwithstanding its ruins (the marks of its loyalty in the civil war), yet remains the seat of the right honourable lord Ward, baron of Birmingham, a person of most exemplary fidelity to his prince, and a most noble encourager of this work, and is therefore here represented wrought off a copper plate, that I might gratefully render his lordship's munificence as immortal as the brass."

According to "the sculpture" referred to, the keep, the chapel, and all the buildings between the latter and the great hall, were in ruins, and one side of a small outer tower, at the end of the triangular passage between the hall and dining room, pulled down. The grand hall with a row of windows looking to the east, the kitchen, and the remainder of the new work, formed the habitable part. The hill was covered with trees of small growth, and the whole surrounded with a wall, which, on the south, east, and west sides, stood very nearly on the site of the present boundary wall. On the north, the remains are still visible about half way on the lower drive, and on the walk along the top of the hill, by the limestone excavation.

In the great hall, was a table 17 yards long, and nearly one broad, cut from an oak that grew in the new park. "Certainly," says Dr. Plot, "it must be a tree of prodigious height and magnitude, out of which a table, all of one plank, could be cut, 25 yards 3 inches long, and wanting but 2 inches of a yard in

breadth for the whole length; from which they were forced (it being so much too long for the hall at Dudley) to cut off 7 yards 9 inches, which is the table in the hall, at Corbyn's hall, hard by, the ancient seat of the Corbyns."

The park was well stocked with deer, and a living white buck was kept within the castle, which put up annually from the burrs only two beams, without either brow or back antlers, palm or spellers, ascending pretty straight, and adorned at the top with balls or knobs. Nobody knew whence it came; it having been taken alive by the colliers in an old coal work, and brought to the castle bound, in a wheelbarrow.*

Himley had become the more regular residence of the noble owners, so that the castle buildings gradually became more dilapidated; yet the assemblies of the town were held there, and an aged lady, a relation of the writer, now deceased, remembered, having in her youth mingled in the gay and festive throng, and moved in the mazy dance to the sweet sounds of music, in the large hall, where all is now so desolate.

> Nettles and vilest weeds that grow
> To mock poor grandeur's head laid low,
> Creep round the turrets valour rais'd,
> And flaunt where youth and beauty gaz'd.
>
> BLOOMFIELD.

It continued thus habitable until the year 1750, when a fresh disaster overwhelmed the surviving

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* Plot's Staffordshire. Pub. 1686.

mementos of the bygone ages. "Be it ever remembered, Dudley castle was on fire St. James's fair day eve, July 24, 1750, and was burning the 25th and 26th. The folks would not go near it, on account of the gunpowder said to be in the place. The eastern part of the roof being mostly lead, it ran down the hill red hot, and set fire to the long grass, which, for the time, looked a hill of fire, and sadly feared the town folks."* The grass at this season being extremely dry, would easily be ignited by floating pieces of burning wood, carried by the wind; and it is not easy to understand, how a current of molten lead, could cross the moat and terrace, in order to run down the hill red hot. The fire raged on unchecked until the whole habitable part was reduced to the present state of vacant desolation, and nought was left but the

"Naked walls
That stared upon each other."
WORDSWORTH.

The origin of the fire has remained a mystery. Tradition states that a set of coiners to whom the castle served as a retreat, were concerned in it; but omits to say whether designedly or by accident. An old inhabitant of Dudley informed the writer that he remembered his mother telling him that there was a person well known in the town called "Castle Jacob," who was suspected to be a coiner, and the person who

* This account, evidently by an eye-witness, is written on a blank leaf of an old bible, in the possession of T. W. Fletcher, Esq.

set fire to the castle. He disappeared at the time of the fire, and was never heard of afterwards.

Dr. Booker inferred design, from two unfinished lines of doggrel inscribed on a soft stone, to the left of the kitchen entrance from the court:—

"Water went rond it, to guarde it from the Fooe,
The fire shall burn it ——————————."

Here the mysterious words end. Had we proof of their existence at the time of the fire, it would be evidence of design. But the length of time before they were discovered, and the ease with which they might have been scrawled upon the soft sandstone, at any time, involves the whole in doubt. Mr. Grose, who visited the ruins in 1774, omits all mention of them, although he notices the tradition.

The Parliamentary Committee and the fire left the ruins very nearly in their present state. But in the year 1799, William, the third viscount Dudley and Ward employed a number of workmen in removing the vast heap of limestone, which filled up the area of the old keep, the work of the parliamentary commissioners, and exhibited the form in which it was originally built. At the same time he raised one of its mutilated towers to its present height and appearance.

THE PRIORY.

See yonder hallow'd fane! the pious work
Of names once fam'd, now dubious or forgot,
And buried 'midst the wreck of things which were."
BLAIR.

About a quarter of a mile to the west of the castle, are the ruins of the Clugniac Priory, founded, as before observed, by Gervase Paganel, in pursuance of the intention of his father Ralph to found a convent here. Accordingly, in the middle of the twelfth century, he gave in perpetual alms to God, and St. James, at Dudley, and Saint Milburga at Wenlock, and to the monks serving God at Dudley, the land on which the church of St. James was built, and also the churches of St. Edmund and St. Thomas at Dudley, and the churches of Northfield, Segesle, and Iggepenne. Also the church of Bradesel, after the decease of John the parson, and half a hide of land in Churchill, and the other part of the village, which Agnes bestowed upon the said church of St. James at Dudley, with her body,* the whole of which was his fee simple. He

* With her body,—"cum corpore suo." "Many and frequent," saith Sir William Dugdale, "have been of ancient time such grants of lands, by particular persons, '*cum corporibus*,' as the expression is; some whereof having this added, "*in Ecclesia, sive in Cemeterio, ejusdem monasterii sepeliri*," others not." Dug. War., p. 192.

confirmed all gifts made to the said monks of St. James, by any of his feudatory tenants (vassals), whether a knight, or of whatever condition he might be, nevertheless, reserving to himself and his heirs the services due to them. He also granted that their cattle should feed in whatever pastures his own fed in, except in his parks; and pannage,* throughout his forests, for their own pigs and those of their tenants residing within the limits of his elemosynary grant, and also a tenth of his bread, venison, and fish, whilst he resided at Dudley and Herden: and with the consent of his steward, they might take all necessary wood for their own buildings, and their own easements, except from his chases, and parks. He freely gave those liberties which he could, with *Soc* and *Sac*, and *tol*, and *tac* and *tem*.† The Prior of Wenlock, with the consent of Gervase Paganel and his heirs, was empowered to settle the monks whom he should wish to associate with himself in the monastery of St. James, and appoint them a prior from his own monks, with a joint power to remove him if necessary. And the Prior of Wenlock, with the consent of the convent and of Gervase Paganel, might constitute a convent

* Pannage, or Pawnage, signifies the fruit growing on forest trees; such as oak, beech, or chesnut, which was proper food for pigs. [See App. to Nash's Worc., vol. 2, p. 13.]

† *Soc* and *Sac*, &c. These words, somewhat obscure even in the Confessor's reign, gave the monks a certain power of hearing disputes between, and administering justice to their own tenants. See Notes on Doomsday, Nash's Worcestershire, p. 8.

of the said house at Dudley, when it could support one. This gift he with his own hand offered upon the altar of St. Milburga at Wenlock, before the convent, and upon the altar of St. James at Dudley, before the monks of that place, in the presence of the Countess Isabella his wife, of Robert Painel his son, of William, the son of Wido or Gwido, and others.*

Gervase Paganel subsequently gave the church of Bratetelde; and there is a deed by Richard Peche, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, confirming a gift by him of the Church of *Segest.*† This is not enumerated among the possessions of the priory in the bull of Pope Lucius.

Soon afterwards the power to constitute a convent contained in the foundation charter was exercised, and "John, prior of Wenlock, and the convent of the same, did ordain a convent; and so that the lord Osbert, then prior of St. James, and Robert and Hugh, his brothers, did make wholly and fully a perfect convent, &c."‡

* See Foundation Charter in Dug. Monasticon Anglicanum, vol. 2, p. 907. The date of this deed is not given. In a note in Erdeswicke's Staff., p. 253, it is stated to have been about 1161, but it was, doubtless, earlier. It was confirmed by a bull of Pope Lucius III. in 1182, which also confirms a grant to the Priory of Gwido de Offerri; which was confirmed by Walter Durdent, Bishop Lic. and Cov., and he was appointed to that See anno. 1149, and died 7th December 1161. See Harwood's Erdeswick, p. 213, and Dug. Warw. p. 127, a.

† Harl. MSS., No. 3868.

‡ Deed without date, but witnessed by Robert Painel, son of Gervase. Exemplified 2nd and 3rd Ph. and M., Dodsworth's MSS., Vol. IX., p. 152. See Harwood's Erdeswick, p. 252.

Guido, or Wido de Offeni, or Hoffeni, whose son William, held three knights' fees under Gervase Paganel, gave to the priory the church of Wombourn, with all its appurtenances; and this gift was duly confirmed by Walter Durdent, the Bishop of Coventry. The Prior and his brethren, however, not satisfied with what was freely given, contended that the parishes of Tresel and Seisdon were included in the gift, which Guido denied. A jury, composed of half clergy and half laity, found that these parishes belonged of right to the church at Wombourn. And Richard Peche, Durdent's successor in the Bishopric of Coventry, confirmed to God and St. James of Dudley, and St. Milburga of Wenlock, the church of Wombourn, with its chapels of Tresel and Seysdona, as of "the pious gift of Wido de Offeni and William his son!"*

Pope Lucius the 3rd, by his Bull, dated the 16 June, 1182,† directed to Everard the prior and his brethren, ordained that the monastic order of St. Benedict,

* Harl. MSS., No. 3868.

† Dug. Mon. Angl., Vol. 1, p. 614. There is an error in the date of this Bull in Dugdale, who gives the year 1190. It is there stated as follows:—"Dat (&c.) xvj kal. Julii indictione xv. dominicæ anno milesimo centesimo *nonagesimo*, pontificatus vero domini Lucii Papæ iij, primo." Now Lucius the third was elected Pope, 1st September, 1181; and died, 24 November, 1185; thus the kalends of July, in the 1st year of his pontificate were in the year 1182, and that year was also the xv. of the indiction. As the kalends were reckoned backwards from the 1st of each month the "xvj kal. Julii" would be 16 June preceding. See Chronology of History by Sir Harris Nicolas.

according to the rules and discipline of the monks of Clugni should be observed in this priory. He confirmed to them and their successors all their possessions, amongst which he enumerated the church of St. James at Dudley, and the chapels there of St. Edmund and St. ———— [Thomas], the churches of Sedgley and Northfield, with the chapel of Costen; the churches of Ingle—— [Q^y Ingepenne] and Bratetelde, with the chapel of Englefield, given by Gervase Paganel, the church of Wombourne, with the chapel of Tresel, given by Guido de Offeni; the church of Seille, the gift of Ralph de Seille; the town of Churchill, the gift of Agnes de Somery; by gift of Osbert de Kenefara, the town of Saredun; of Robert de Chanden, one virgate of land in the town of Wolyntone; and lands in Iggepenne, the gift of John Mansell. He also granted freedom of burial to all, who from their vows or wishes, might wish to be interred here, except they were interdicted or excommunicated, saving the rights of those churches from which the bodies should be taken. Also in case of a general interdiction of the kingdom, the doors being closed, the bells not sounded, and excommunicated and interdicted persons being put forth, the monks might, in a low voice, celebrate divine service. Moreover, he prohibited all persons from taking tithes of the fallow, or other lands cultivated by them, or at their expense, for the maintenance of their house, or for food for their cattle. He also authorized them to elect clerks or priests for

the churches of the parishes which they held, and present them to the diocesan bishop, to whom, if fit and proper, he might commit the care of souls, so that they should be responsible to him in spiritual, as to the monks in temporal matters. He authorized them to receive and keep clerks and laymen flying to them from the world; and prohibited anyone having made profession in their house, to depart therefrom, except for one more rigid. And no one should presume to keep any such leaving the house without the authority of the community in writing. He also decreed that all ancient and reasonable customs observed in their church up to that time should be, in future, continued.

Soon after the establishment of the priory, a dispute arose between the bishops of Worcester and Coventry, as to the boundaries of their respective dioceses, which was settled by the following agreement:—

"1238. Ex mandato domini Papæ, unanimi consensu domini Walteri de Cantilupo episcopi Wigorn. et domini Alexandri Cov. et Lich. episcopi, facta fuit limitatio inter episcopatus Wigorniensem et Conventrensem; ita quod tota villa Duddelie cum ecclesiis et earum pertinentiis, lege diocesana pertinebit ad episcopum Wigorniensem; situs vero castri ejusdem villæ, et cella monachorum, cum pertinentiis suis in com. Stafford, pertinebit ad episcopum Conventrensem."* Whereby it was agreed that the whole town of Dudley with its churches should belong to the Diocese of

* Nash's Worc., Vol. 1, p. 360-1.

Worcester, and the castle and priory in Staffordshire, to the Diocese of Coventry.

In 1284, by letters patent (in 13 Ed. I.) the prior had licence to assart and unpark a heath in the forest of Kinfare, adjoining to the Manor of Wodeford.*

According to that interesting record of the value of church property, called Pope Nicholas's Valor, which was begun in 1288 (16 Ed. I.) and finished in 1291 (19 Ed. I.), in the reign of Edw. I., for the purpose of raising the tenths on ecclesiastical benefices granted by Pope Nicholas to that sovereign, we have the following curious account of the possessions of the priory at that time:—

IN ECCLESIASTICAL BENIFICES.

Worcestershire. †

In the Deanery of Kidderminster.

	Rated or Taxed.	Tenth s.	d.
The Church of Doddeleye	10 ma.	13	4
The Vicar besides has a portion...	6½ ma.	8	8
In the Deanery of Wych.			
The Prior of Dudley has a portion in the Church of Northfield, "in pecun."	6½ ma.	8	0

* Tanner's Notitia, and Nash's Worc., Vol. 1, p. 252. To *assart*, meant to pull up by the roots those woods that are thickets and coverts for the deer, and making the ground plain as arable land. To *unpark*, meant much the same as enclosing commons at the present day. See William's Law Dic.

† Nash's Worc. Introd. p. xlii.

Staffordshire.*

In the Deanery of Lappeleye and Trysell.

	Rated or Taxed.	Tenth s.	d.
Wombourn, with its chapels.....	16 ma.	21	4
Seggesleye	12 ma.	16	0
Total Ecclesiastical Benefices	50½ ma.	67	4

In Temporalities.

Worcestershire.†

The prior had at Dudley, one carucate of land, valued at 20s.; and of rent of assize, 30s.; and the sacristan had there, of rent of assize, 4s. 6d.; and at Churchill, of rent of assize, 20s.;‡ and at Wrosene, one carucate of land, valued at 20s.; of stock, 20s. Total 114s. 6d or about 8½ ma. 11 4

Staffordshire.§

He had in the deanery of Tresel, in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, at Wodeford, 2 carucates of land, valued at 16s.

* Shaw's Staff., App. Gen. Hist., p. xx.

† Nash's Worc., Introd., p. xlii.

‡ Dr. Nash, in his account of Churchill, here adds, "de stauro," xxs.," upon the authority of Tanner.

§ Shaw's Staff. Rents of assize were certain established rents of freeholders and ancient copyholders, which could not be departed from or varied, so called because they were assized or adjusted, and different from others which were uncertain.

a carucate a year. And also had there 20s. per annum for the profits of stock, and of rent of assize, 11s. 6d. per annum. Total, 63s. 6d., or about	4¾ ma.	6 4
Total	63¾ ma.	85 0

63¾ marks are 850s. or £42 10s., a tenth whereof is £4 5s.

Some of the churches mentioned in the foundation charter are omitted in this valuation. As, for instance, those of Iggepenne, Bradesel, Bratetelde, and Segest, given by Gervase Paganel. Bradesel and Segest are omitted in the bull of Pope Lucius. And we find no mention of the chapels of Coston, connected with Northfield; nor of Englefield, connected with Bratetelde; nor of the church of Seille, given by Ralph de Seille; nor of the town of Saredun, given by Osbert de Kenefare; nor of a virgate of land in the town of Wolyntone, given by Robert de Chanden; nor of lands in Iggepenne, given by John Mansel. All these are included in the bull of Pope Lucius. As, however, Iggepenne, Bratetelde, and Englefield, lie in Berkshire, they may be included in the valor for that county.

It is extremely difficult to identify many of these places. In Worcestershire the prior had one carucate of land at Wrosene; and in Staffordshire, two carucates, at Wodeford. The former may, possibly, be

the virgate of land in Wolyntone, above-mentioned; and the latter may be connected with the gift of Osbert de Kenefara, of the town of Saredun, and also with the heath in the forest of Kinfare, adjoining to the manor of Wodeford, which the prior had licence to assart and unpark, 13 Ed. I.

It is not clear what interest the house had in Churchill. In the reign of Hen. III., the manor was held by a family of the name of Hurcot, under the prior and convent, who, by deed without date, confirmed to Robert the son of Adam de Hurcote, the grant which the said Adam had made to him, "of all the land of Churchill, held under the church of Dudley in fee and inheritance, and to his heirs," reserving to themselves and their successors a yearly rent of half a mark, *i.e.*, 6s. 8d. By a like deed, without date, this Robert de Hurcote granted to Hugh Drugell of Sackley, "the whole of the land at Churchill with the advowson of the church." Hugh Drugell married the daughter of Robert de Hurcote, and had with her by grant "in frank marriage all the land of Churchill, with the advowson of the same, paying yearly to the prior of Dudley and the brothers there, six shillings and eight pence sterling."* These deeds are, unfortu-

* Estates *in libero maritagio*, or *frank marriage*, are defined to be where tenements are given by one man to another, together with a wife, who is the daughter or cousin of the donor, to hold in frank marriage, whereby the donees shall have the tenements to them and the heirs of their two bodies begotten; that is they are tenants in special tail. Black. Com., Vol. 2, p. 115.

nately, without dates. But one Simon de Frankell, was among the witnesses to the first and last, and he lived, Dr. Nash says, in the reign of Henry III. The manor was evidently held by the prior and convent under the barons of Dudley, for by the inquisition taken after the death of Roger de Somery in 1291, the jury find he died seized of the manor of Churchill held by the prior of Dudley by the fourth part of a knight's fee; and that its annual profits were, altogether, worth 40s. a year.* And they had some interest in the tithes, or advowson, for in 1297, when John Drugell (I suppose the son of Hugh) presented a clerk to this rectory; the bishop's register informs us that Robert de Malley, prior of Dudley, consented thereto.†

In 1297 the prior and convent commenced legal proceedings against the abbot and convent of Hales to recover the fourth part of the chapel of Frankley, as belonging to the church of Northfield. But this was without any colour of right, as Robert, the prior, by deed dated May 6th, 1297, acknowledged that the chapel of Frankley belonged, of right, to the mother church of Hales, and quitted claim to the abbot and convent for ever, of all the said fourth part, reserving

* Nash's Worc. Escaetria de an 19 E. 1. in Turre. Dr. Nash adds, "Pope Nicholas's valor, confirms as much, for it says, 'Prior de Doddelye habet apud Churchill de redditu assize xx. s. de stauro xx. s.'" Inter. MSS. Tanner in Bibl. Bodl., No. 341, p. 649-6. See Note ‡, p. 106 *ante*.

† See Nash's Worc., voce Churchill. Reg. Gifford, fo. 4266.

to himself the patronage of the said church of Northfield. The priory presented to the living, from 1281 to 1438. On 4th December, 1479, the bishop, "jure devoluto" presented; and on 3rd January, 1558, *Edwardus Leveson, arm. ratione advoc. Ric. Bradeley et aliis per priorem et conv. de Dudley fact, etc.*" presented. And the parsonage was, in 1373, appropriated to the priory, as appears in the registry of the priory of Worcester, *sede vacante.**

On 31 December, 1342, the bishop of Worcester, summoned the prior and convent to show title to the appropriation of the church of Dudley, and the title was allowed for that time.†

During the minority of the fifth John de Sutton, the prior and convent of Wenlock, in 9 Hen. V. (1421), presented to the king, three monks of the said house, praying him to admit one of them to the priory of St. James at Dudley, vacant by the resignation of William Canke, and the king admitted Jo. Brugge, on the 20 October. At the same time, it appears, the king administered the temporalities of this priory, by reason of the minority of the said John de Sutton.‡

Nothing more appears to have ruffled their quiet course, until the stormy period of Henry VIII., made them a wreck. In the 32nd year of his reign (an. 1540), this priory, as parcel of Wenlock, was granted

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* Nash's Worc., Vol. 2.

† Ib., Vol. 1.

‡ Tanner's Not. Mon.

to sir John Dudley, afterwards duke of Northumberland.* Upon his attainder and forfeiture, the greater part of the possessions, was, as we have seen, granted by Queen Mary, to sir Edward Sutton, lord Dudley. Northfield, however, does not appear to have been included in that latter grant.

Sampson Erdeswick, who visited this place about thirty years after the date of the last grant, thus describes it:—"In the church of the said priory were divers goodly monuments of the Somerys and Suttons, and especially one, being cross-legged and a very old one, which seems as it was a very goodly one for the workmanship, so was it much more strange for the stature of the person buried, for the picture which was laid over him I took measure of, and found it to be eight feet long, neither was the person lesser of stature, for the coffin wherein the charnel was laid being of freestone, and hewn hollow, was also eight foot, so that the body could be no less, for if it had it could not with conveniency have been laid in it. Writing, I could see none, nor any other matter whereby I might discover whose it was, until, seeking something narrowly, I found under the arm of the monument the gold fresh, wherewith, no doubt, it had been wholly gilt over, and in the gold a hinder leg, and a piece of the tail of a blue lion, which also

* Nash's Worc., Vol. 1. It was valued in the whole at £36 3s. the clear yearly value being £33 1s. 4d. Tanner's Notitia Monastica.

a man might discover to be passant, and that by the space of the place it was contained in, there must necessarily, be two lions, otherwise the leg and tail must, proportionably, have been bigger and larger than they were, and otherwise placed, so that thereby you may perceive it was a Somery, and, as I take it, the first founder of the said priory.

"Divers other monuments there were, one other also cross-legged, but much slenderer than this other was, and also shorter; another newer, which I take to be some of the Suttons, since they were lords of Dudley. But great pity it was, methought, to see both the church and the monuments defaced as they were, and so I then told my lord, and that I marvelled that either he or any of his ancestors would suffer it. He answered me, 'it was done while the duke was owner of it, so that the fault was neither in his ancestor nor him.'"* It was, more likely, the neglect of his father and grandfather, or of himself, who wasted his own estate in the support of his illegitimate children, than of the duke, who much affected the place, on account of his alleged descent from the family, and added largely to the castle.

The subsequent owners abandoned it still further to decay and ruin, and, regardless of all respect for these venerable remains, permitted different manufactures to be carried on in the midst of them.

Mr. Grose, in 1776, found that the shattered walls

* Erdeswick's Staffordshire. Harwood edit., p. 251-2.

of some of the offices, had been patched up into a dwelling and conveniences for a tanner; but were then occupied by a thread manufacturer; and the Rev. Mr. Warner in 1801, found the man of thread gone, and in his stead "were manufacturers, who, in a little adjoining building, ground the glass made in the neighbouring town, and polished fire-irons and other articles of steel."*

The late earl of Dudley, having determined to build a house for his agent with the necessary offices, selected a site in the neighbourhood of the priory; a number of small workshops, and low buildings were removed, and the present handsome stone structure, in the Tudor style, erected. The ruins were cleared of rubbish as far as practicable, and ivy planted. The latter has grown so luxuriantly, that little of the buildings can be seen.

Mr. Grose observes:—"The chief remains which have outstood the ravages of time and avarice, are those of the conventual church. On the south side of the east window, which seems to have been richly ornamented, there is a niche and canopy for an image; the west end is built with a coarser and redder stone than that used in the other part of the building. The arches all appear to have been pointed. Both to the east and to the west of the ruins are large pools of water, seemingly the remains of a moat which

* Grose's Antiquities, Vol. 4, and Warner's Tour in the Northern Counties.

once encompassed the whole monastery; and a little to the north are traces of several fish ponds."

The large pools of water were drained when the present house and offices were built, and the traces of the large fish-ponds are obliterated; they were, no doubt, connected with the castle mill.

WOLVERHAMPTON

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

NOTE A, p. 1.

Other names of places in the neighbourhood support the view given in the text, of the barrenness of this district. A hill on the road to Rowley, is called "Bare-hill." "Bumble-hole," bumble, being a provincial word for bramble, occurs in the lower part of the parish, and again at Hurst hill, in Sedgley parish. At Tividale, where a small stream crosses the road from Dudley to Oldbury, is "Brindleford hall," probably a corruption of Brymbyll-ford, that is Bramble ford. And on the road to Stourbridge is "Brierley hill."

The Domesday survey also affords evidence of the same fact, as there are five hides of land in Belintones, within Ausculfs castlewick, and which I take to be the lower part of the parish, and Pensnett chase, all waste, and two furlongs of wood in the king's forest. At Catspelle, being either Gospel end, or Cotwell end, in Sedgley, was one hide in the king's forest, waste. At Cocortone, which I take to be Compton, in Kinver, were one hide and a half waste. At Enville and Cippemore, which I believe is Whittemore, near Boddington, there were six hides in the king's forests; and at Morfe, near Enville, were five hides, all waste.

NOTE B, p. 3.

Further reasons for rejecting these traditions, will appear, when we consider that this district was a kind of border country between independent and hostile tribes for a long period. In the time of the Britons, it lay between the Ordovices, the Carnavii, and the Dobuni; and in the time of the Saxons, between the kingdom of Mercia and the unconquered tribes of the Keltic nation, who had taken refuge in Wales. If a castle existed here for three centuries, it is passing strange that no stray siege, or deed of violence should have happened, of which some account would have been preserved. And it would be unaccountable that, when the renowned queen Ethelfleda, the last of the Mercian sovereigns, in the year 911, fortified the castles of Bridgnorth, Stafford, Wedesborough, (Wednesbury), Tamworth, Leicester, and Warwick, she should have entirely overlooked a stronghold

here. All the writers who have adopted this early tradition, have done so upon Camden's unsupported dictum. Erdeswick supposed the castle to have been built at the first by William Fitz Ausculf, or some of his next succeeding heirs of the Someries. The Domesday survey contains the earliest authentic evidence of a castle being here erected.

NOTE C, p. 6.

Dugdale, in his account of the Somerie pedigree, calls Hawyse the sister of Gervase Pagnell, and quotes the foundation charter of the priory as his authority. This deed is twice printed in Caley's edition of the Monasticon Anglicanum. In the first instance the relationship is stated as "Fratris mei," vol. 5, p. 204-6. In the second instance, as "Patris mei," vol. 6, p. 1039*a*. The latter is, no doubt, correct, for if Hawyse had not been his daughter, the eldest brother would have been his heir, and not the sister.

NOTE D, p. 19.

The labours of the genealogists of former times to engraft the plebeian blood of the Dudley family upon a patrician stock, have thrown the materials of the Sutton pedigree into great confusion. Dugdale makes five John de Suttons in succession, whilst others make six; in this, however, all agree; the last, whether fifth or sixth, was five years of age upon the death of his father, in 8 H. 4 (1406), so that he was born in the year 1401; and this is the person stated in the text, to have lived until the 3 H. VII. (1487), when he departed this life, having made his will in the same year.

Dugdale and Dr. Campbell, the author of the lives of the Dudleys, in the Biographia Britannica, think that John de Sutton born in 1401, and he who made the will were two persons. But they differ in all else. Dugdale states that his first John died about the 22 E. IV. (1482), and was succeeded by his grandson, of the same name, John, who made the will. Dr. Campbell thinks it highly probable that the first John died in the early part of the reign of Henry VI., and was succeeded by a son, John, who made the will.

Dr. Campbell, in speaking of his second John, states, upon the authority of Antis's Register of the Garter, that he was elected a knight of that order in 1460 (39 H. VI.), and observes, "it is evident from the same register that the old lord lived not only through the reign of Edward IV., but even so low as that of

Hen. VII. [See Antis's Register of the Garter, vol. 2, p. 230-231]. This is conclusive against Dugdale's statement, and the evidence in a grant made in 22 H. VI. (1444), quoted by Dugdale, is equally conclusive against the supposition of Dr. Campbell, that his first John died in the early part of the reign of Henry VI. This John, was in France with Henry V., and carried the standard at his funeral, and was afterwards engaged by Henry VI. in France, Ireland, and Burgundy.—[See Dug. Bar.] And the latter king, in the 22nd year of his reign, "in considera-"tion of his merits in the wars of France and Normandy, as "also in Ireland; and other his services, as well in the time of "King Hen. V., as that king," granted him C^{l}. per annum.—[Claus. 22, H. VI., m. 29. Pat. 22, H. VI., p. 1., m. 31. See Dug. Bar.] It also appears from Dugdale, that a John Sutton, lord Dudley, was regularly summoned to every parliament from 18 H. VI., to 3 H. VII, both years inclusive.

All this confusion is owing to the efforts of the Dudleys to prove that the John de Sutton, born in 1401, was the father or grandfather of Edmund Dudley, the unscrupulous minister of Henry VII. Dugdale relies upon the collections of Glover, the Somerset Herald; and Dr. Campbell upon a MS. Peerage, written, by whom is not stated, about the year 1596. Erdeswick, the eminent local antiquary, gives a third account, differing from the other two, and a pedigree in Harl. MSS., No. 6182, gives a fourth, differing from all the others. This shows how easily pedigrees were manufactured at that time; and how worthless they are as authorities. In the preceding account I have given the authorities of Dugdale and others for the several facts mentioned, and have generally disregarded all statements that rested solely upon Glover's collections, or any MS. peerage.

That Edward who succeeded to John de Sutton, in 3 H. 7, was his grandson is clear, which is contradicted by Dr. Campbell. Edmund Sutton, who died in vitâ patris, left two sons, Edward, the eldest and heir to his grandfather, and John, who lived at Aston-le-Willis, in Northamptonshire.

That he died in his father's lifetime is proved by the Act of 11 Henry VII., c. 47, confirming the grant of Northfield and Weoley to lord Edward Dudley, wherein it is stated that the king "for the sōme of M^{e}. marke paied" by "John, late lord Dudley, grauntfadre to youre seide suppliant (*i.e.*, lord Edward Dudley) whose heire he is, that is to say, Son of Edmund, son of the same late lord Dudley."

Mr. Blore, in his history of Rutlandshire, and Mr. Baker in his history of Northamptonshire, also agree that the John de Sutton, born in 1401, lived to the 3, H. VII., and that he had a son Edmund, who died in his lifetime.

NOTE E, p. 21.

The interest of the Sutton family in these estates in Cheshire, was an entire moiety, and a fourth of a moiety, and was sold to Robinson in 19 H. VIII., as above mentioned. An eighth part of the remaining moiety belonged to the Cokesays, and the title thereto, after the death of Sir Thomas Cokesay, Knt., 16, H. VII. (1501) being litigated between two claimants, Edmund Dudley, the unscrupulous minister of Henry VII., purchased it, and it is included in the inquisition, after his attainder for high treason, in 1 H. VIII. (1509). [Ormerod's Cheshire, vol. 1].

But John Dudley, his son and heir, in 3 H. VIII., (1511) by petition of his guardian Edward Guildford, Esq., obtained an Act for the repeal of his attainder, and the restitution of all his father's lands [Dug. Warw.] and in 28 H. VIII. (1536) it was passed over by fine, by him as "Sir John Dudley, Knight, and Jane his wife (who was daughter of his guardian, Sir Edward Guildford) to Rowland Hill, citizen and mercer of London." [See Ormerod's Cheshire]. Dr. Ormerod confuses him with John Sutton, known as lord Quondam, in which he is followed by Mr. Adlard, in his account of the Sutton-Dudleys of England, &c. In order to account for his possessing it, the former supposes that after Edmund's attainder it "became the property of the elder line of Sutton, or Dudley, either by grant or purchase." But it evidently was not so, as the wife of this John Sutton or Dudley was Cicely, and not Jane, and there can be no doubt that it was vested in John Dudley, son and heir of Edmund, by the Act of 3 H. VIII., and by him and his wife Jane, sold to Rowland Hill, as above mentioned.

NOTE F, p. 25.

From what has been said in note D, it is clear that the Dudleys were not connected with the Sutton family, as the Duke of Northumberland alleged. His father, the notorious Edmund Dudley, who was beheaded in 1 H. VIII., was born in 1462, twenty years before the lord Dudley stated to be the duke's grandfather died. Now, it is quite incredible, that so powerful a nobleman as this duke, if he had been connected with a family of the landed aristocracy, should not have been able to clearly

prove his descent from his great-grandfather. Yet, all the evidence which is offered, is that "with his own hand, he, in a pedigree, of the Sutton family, so exprest himself to be." Neither Erdeswick, Wyrley, nor Dugdale believed it. No doubt the origin of the family was obscure, and, that they were descendants of a Dudley carpenter, is as likely to be true as any other.

Erdeswick states that "this John, Duke of Northumberland, was the son of one Edmund Dudley (sometime of Lincoln's Inn), who, creeping into favour with King Henry the Seventh, obtained of him the ward and marriage of Elizabeth, the only sister and heir of John Grey, viscount Lisle, whom himself married, and, by that means, possessed himself of a goodly inheritance." "This Edmund was the son of one John Dudley, which the duke would needs have (for so I have heard Somerset, *i.e.*, Robert Glover, Somerset herald) say that he saw a descent, wherein the duke with his own hand had put it down, that he was the second son of John Sutton, fifth baron of Dudley, of the Sutton's race, and brother of the first Edward; but, whether he was so or not, I will not take upon me to dispute, being of myself ignorant, except by hearsay and report; for I heard it by one who took upon him to be of good credit (while he lived) that the said John, father of Edmund, was a carpenter, and, indeed, born in the town of Dudley, but not of the name, other than travelling for his living, and happening to be entertained at work in the abbey of Lewes, in Sussex, where (growing into favour with the abbot) he was appointed carpenter to the house, and there married, and (after the manner as the monks used) was called John of Dudley, not because his name was so, but because he was born in Dudley town; and having by his wife this Edmund, who was taken into the house, and there brought up at school, and proving a towardly child, and apt to learn, the abbot having scholars' rooms in the university, this Edmund was placed into one of them. And, after the abbot, having suits at law, and finding this young scholar ingenious and wise, took him from the university, and placed him at the Inns of Court, where he maintained him, and used him as a solicitor, to follow the suits of the house; which he not only did sufficiently and well, but also so studied the laws of this land, that he became very well learned in them, and so was brought into favour of King Henry the Seventh, whereby he was advanced in manner I have before spoken of. [See Erdeswick's Staff., p. 241—50].

As Erdeswick resided at Sandon, in Staffordshire, and, a few

years after the death of the duke of Northumberland, devoted his time to collecting materials for a history of that county, he had a good opportunity of learning the real history of the Dudley family, and it fell within the scope of his undertaking to do so. William Wyrley, who was early noticed by Erdeswick, and was an eminent antiquarian, had a similar opportunity and motive for ascertaining the history of this family. Whilst correcting part of the detail he thus confirms Erdeswick's account.

"There was a carpenter that worked in the Abbey of Battle [instead of Lewes] who had a son called John Dudley, because his father came from Dudley, and this John, being a boy of some ingenuity, was maintained and educated by the abbot, became at length solicitor to the house, and afterwards growing up, married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir John Bramshot, Knt., of Bramshot in Hants, by whom he had Edmund Dudley." [See Note by Timothy Buckeridge in Harwood's Erdeswick, p. 249-50]. This marriage shews that these Dudleys came from the neighbourhood of Battle and Lewes abbies, and so far countenances the above story.

Sir William Dugdale, in his Baronage, relying upon Glover, the Somerset herald, says: that the 5th John de Sutton had a second son "John, from whom the earls of Warwick and Leicester did derive their descent." But in his History of Warwickshire, where he discusses the matter in detail, he evidently disbelieves it. After stating the creation of John Dudley to be earl of Warwick, he proceeds:—"Howbeit, before I proceed to speak further of this John, I shall crave leave to say something of his parentage. That he was son of Edmund Dudley (of whom I shall say more by-and-bye) and he the son of one John Dudley, is plain enough; but as I am not sufficiently satisfied that the said John, his grandfather, was a younger branch of the barons of Dudley, in Staffordshire, though with his own hand, in a descent of these barons he exprest himself so to be, viz., second son to John Sutton, first of that name that had the title of lord Dudley; so shall I be as tender in affirming that to be true which I have seen under the hand of a very good genealogist in his time (*i.e.*, Sampson Erdeswick) and which he alleged to have received from a person of credit." Then follows the account of the carpenter as above given; when Dugdale continues:—"That the latter part of this story is true, I find testimony enough; but that the father of Edmund was a carpenter is not very likely, in regard he married so eminently, viz., Elizabeth, one of the daughters and co-heirs to

John Bramshot, Esq., seized of the mannors of Gatton, Calbourne, and Whitwill, in the Isle of Wight; as also of Bramshot in Hampshire, which Elizabeth, died 12 October, 14 H. VII. (1498), leaving Edmund her son, then 36 years of age; whence I conclude that he was a gentleman, as some others of the name of Dudley, in several parts of England are, though perhaps not of the barons of Dudley's line; therefore, how this formall story of a carpenter should arise I cannot well imagine, unless the grandfather, or great grandfather of Edmund had been of that trade; for, it is no wonder to see those that are sprung from as poor mechanicks, by their activeness in the world, to get wealth, and assume the title of esquire, or gentleman, without controull, yea, and be allowed so to do; neither do we often find that those which are, in truth, of right noble extraction, will boggle at matching their children with them." [Dug. War., p. 336]. The correction by Wyrley that the carpenter was the grandfather and not the father of Edmund Dudley, removes the objection of Dugdale, and renders the story more probable. The warmth displayed in discussing this subject in former times is amusing. The quaint Dr. Fuller, after alluding to the above report observes: "But, probably, some, who afterwards were pinched in their purses, by this Edmund, did in revenge give him this bite in his reputation, inventing this tale to his disparagement." On the other hand the opponents of the Leicester family insist upon the truth of the story. "In what," Dr. Campbell terms, "a famous popish libel, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, he finds it observed of Robert, Earl of Leicester, 'That he was the son of a Duke, the brother of a king, grandson of an Esquire, and great grandchild of a carpenter.'" "*The carpenter,*" says my author, "*was, in all likelihood, the happiest of his race, for he, perhaps, was an honest man, and died in his bed.*" [See Note A, Biog. Brit., Vol. 5, p. 420].

NOTE G, p. 28.

The following extracts from letters published in the State Papers of Henry the Eighth's reign, are so curious that I am induced to put them together in a note. The learned editor of that volume thinks that the George Dudley, therein mentioned, could not be "one of the sonnes of the late lord," as stated by sir William Paget, because the family name was "Sutton." But, as previously noticed, at this period they generally dropped that surname, and took that of Dudley, only. He is, no doubt, correctly described in the letter given below from Raligh and Brand, as "one George

Dudley, the sonne of the lord Dudley that solde his landes." The obscurity in which his lordship lived, and his never having sat in Parliament, with the change of name, will account for the perplexity.

In a letter from sir William Paget to Henry VIII., dated Paris, 4 February, 1543; he says:—

"It may like your Majestie to be further advertised, that there is arrived lately here, one Dudley, one of the sonnes of the late lord Dudley, who hath been lately in six pens a day at Calais, and now hath determyned to have gone to Rome to Pole, to have dwelled with him, and going about to persuade one of my servantes, an old cumpanyon of his, to go with him; the same hath disclosed the matier unto me very honestly hitherto.

"This matier cumming to my knowledge doth trouble me sumwhat, now in this troublous brunt. Nevertheless, thinking myself bounde to do what I canne for his apprehension, and the sending of him to Englande, I spake to this king (*i.e.*, the French king), yesterday in it, saing generally, and without namyng any man, or any cace, that there was a young man, which had offended your Majesties lawes in a cace of treason in Englande, and was cum hither. I prayed to Hym of letters of authority to take him, and sende him savely home. 'It is reason,' quoth he, 'you shall have with all myn hart, for it is our treatyes;' and gave ordre therefore, by-and-by to Mons. Bayard, who hath promised I shall have the writing this morning, with a blanc to put in the name at my pleasure, bicause the matier might be secret.

"If I have such writting, I will send him over savely, if not I will kepe him here, by such means as I can, until I cum home myself; which (it was told me here at the courte) shuld be shortely. I beseeche your Majestie to confirm the same, to thintent the French ambassadeur there may be sayde to have written, at the least, sumthing true unto the king his Maister, for from him it cummith. Beseeching your Majestie also to know your pleasure touching this Dudley." [P. 226-7].

In another letter to the same, dated the 6th February, Paget says:—

"As touching the miserable foole George Dudley, I have obteyned a save conduct for to sende him in to Englande; and have him in my keping, sending unto your Majestie herewith all the discourse of the thing, as it is cum to my knowledge, and his confession of the same, written with his own hand,* wherein at the

* Not extant. [Note by Editor].

first examination he made a little staye; and after that I had sumwhat moved him with an exhortation, fell down on his knees, and asked your Highnes mercy, confessing the hole matier plainly, with such abundance of teares, as I never sawe distille out of any creature's eyes in all my lief. And, on my trouth, Sir, that I beare to your Majestie, for any thing that I canne perceyve by examination, I think this his ungracious purpose to have proceeded furst for lack of grace, and after, by a dispare for a want of socour. By what meane he wanted I knowe not, for I knowe not his lyving, nor his conditions, but he was dryven to worke at Calais with a mattock and a shovel. Your Majestie hath of your great clemency shewed mercy unto many men. If that upon his cumming thither, and further examination, there shall appere unto your Majestie no gretter malice in him, then I see yet, one drop of your Majesties grace towards him shallbe I suppose an acceptable sacrifice unto God. Wherein, as it becummith not me to be a sutor unto your Majestie, being so much bounde already in respect of my self, so I remitt the matier to your moost immense and moost exceeding mercy. As for his personne, I send not over (and yet I woold be gladly discharged of him), for that the causes of my sending in these matiers requyre great diligence. Wherfor I kepe him as save as I canne, untill I cum over myself, onles your Majestie's pleasure be to have hym sent over before." [pp. 303-4].

In another letter to the same, dated Paris, 15 February, 1543, Paget says :—

"And now, Sir, thinking ever until this present, to have ended myn office in metely good cace by your Majestie's goodnes and favourable acceptation, there is chaunced unto me of late, by my folíshe pitye and negligence of my servauntes, a misfortune, wherein I must, moost humbly prostrate at your feete, beseeche you of a benïgne and gracious interpretation and pardon of my folie. This false traiterous boy Dudley, I being at my supper, and straungers with me, and he having but one of his kepars with him, and the dore of the place where he was standing negligently open, made semblant to walk up and down, while his kepar looked upon a booke, and whipping out of the dore, plucked the same after him, and to go, so as, before the beastely foole could open the dore and folowe him thòther was gone clene out of sight I made after of all handes, and sent by-and-bye to all the gates of the town, and kept that night fyve watches in searche; but all would not helpe, for in Paris (as they know that have bene in it) a

thousande false sherews may hyde themselves and not befounde. I beseche your Majestie moost humbly to think nothing els in me but folye, which I assure you, Sir, hath grieved me more, thenne would have done the losse of all that ever I have, and take my children withall. Beseching you, Sir, to advertise me of your gracious goodness in this behalf, to thintent that as I have served your Majestie merely and willingly here, so I may cum home meryly into your presence. And, if ever any such like trayteur, as he is, cum in my handes again, your Majestie may be assured I will use no more pitie, thenne the case of a traitour requyreth. And yet, Sir, being here in a straunge countrey, it will be hard for me or any man, to kepe a traitour according to his merites. Thus I beseche God sende your Majestie most prosperously and long to reigne." [p. 314].

Young Dudley having thus escaped from the hands of sir Will Paget at Paris, proceeded to Italy, where fresh troubles awaited him. Bonner, bishop of London, in a letter dated Vogera, 11 June, 1543, thus concludes :—"Finally of the information giffen me at Geanes by certeyn Englishmen touching Dudley, wherein they said they had written to your Majesties counseill, and daily loked for answer of your Majesties pleasure therein." [p. 403-4]. The editor states, in a note, that "there is in the State Paper Office, a letter from Edward Raligh and John Brande, to the Privy Council, dated from Milan, on the 5th May, which is probably the one here alluded to. After mentioning their departure from Venice to see the wars of Piedmont, and being in Milan, they proceed to state "the 29. April, ther came thether one George Dudley, the sonne of the lord Dudley that sold his landes, accompanyed with foure Frenchmen. And, for because he semed suspicious unto us, as well by reason of them, as for that he escewed our company, and wold not declare whether he went, we were desyrous to knowe of hym ; and in serching, understoode by one of his company that he was going to Bolonia. Whiche thinges knowen we did work by suche meanes that at the last we knewe that he was fled out of Englande, that he was going towards Poole, that he was taken in France, that he escaped from Mr. Pachett, that postes were sent for his cause, letters written by the Kynge's Majestie for his taking, that he named hym self the Kynge's kinsman, and cosen of Cardynall Poole, that he was sent from the Courte of Fraunce to the Bushopp of Romes Legate, and from hym with horse appayraill and money sent to the Legate of Avignon, whiche was some tyme a Bushop in

Englande, of hym rewarded with a goodly mule, company appoynted unto hym, and men bounde for his sauf conducion hether, and from hens to Trent; knowyng besides, that he had divers letters subscrybed unto Poole, we judged the matter of some moment, and worthy to be loked into. In the consyderacion of whiche matter we founde but two thinges, either to kylle hym, or cause hym to be detayned." The latter course was deemed the most prudent, and they applied to the marquis of Guasto "to deteyn the forsaid Dudley, until the commyng of the Kinge's highness Imbasseatour accompanying the Emperor." Dudley having some suspicion suddenly departed towards the Pope's lands. But they went immediately to Pavia, where the marquis lay, and procuring his commission for the arrest of Dudley, tracked him thirty miles, and took him "at a towne called Casane a litle from the passing of the ryver Poo, towards Placentia, then he and his company were put in prisone." He was finally committed to the castle of Milan to await the coming of the bishop of London with the Emperor. [p. 403-4].

In a letter from the bishop of London to the King, dated 19 June, we learn the result of these proceedings :—

"Pleaseth it your most gratious Highnes to be advertised, that having thries syns my comming in to Italie sent letters to your Majeste, both from Geanes and also from Vogera, and understanding that ther was moche strayned cortoysie betwene th Emperour and the Bishop of Rome, and moche delaye and tracte of tyme touchinge their intervewe; I thought it good for many considerations, the meane while (after my comming to Pavie) to repayre to Millan, whiche is very nyre unto the same, and not moche above 12 mile out of my waye towardes Cremorne, and ther to common with Dudley, and knowe why he departed from your Graces realme, and by what occasion, who moeved hym thereunto, what letters comforte and socour he had therein, and finally whether he mynded to goo and doo, withe suche like circumstances. According to the whiche myn intent and opinion, I did upon myn arrival to Pavia, soon after repaire to Millan, and ther thinking to have founde Dudley, I repaired to the castellan, and (contrarie to myn expectation and truste) had answer of hym that the said Dudleye was escaped and fled out of the castell wher he was prisoner. And, albeyt this sayenge appered to me very strannge, unlikkelie, and untrewe, semblable as it did to John Ambrosio, brother unto Christopher Myllaner, yet I to bulte out the matter better, enquired and asked hym how the said Dudley coulde escape and flee out of the

said castell the same beyng soo stronge, and having soo many and soo diligent guardes. He tolde me that 15 or 20 dayes passed the said Dudleye, beyng by hym the said Castellane, committed to the custodie of a fachino that carieth hey, escaped with the said fachino, of whom he had boroed his coote, and whither he was goon, he said he coulde not tell. And for all that I coulde saye or doo, I could not presse or enduce hym any other thinges to confesse or saye. The thing thus beyng, I thought it my very bounden dutie to certifie your moost excellent Majestie hereof; mynding nevertheles (departing hense tomorrowe) to common with the Marquis of Guaste, now beyng in the courte, with all spede, and also withe Grandevele and th Emperour, and to here what other answer shall be giffen to me in this behalf." [p. 420].

In another letter to the king, dated Colen, on 24th August, 1543, the bishop says:—

"I have spoken very diligently to this beyrer, your Majesties subjecte, called Brant, which is a very wise and diligent payneful and actyve man, and of good knowledge and experience in suche thinges, besides his other notable and good qualities, that, at his now passing throughe the campe he shall well and seriously marke all thinges, and make thereof, with all such thinges as he now knoweth all redy, true and full reporte to your Majestie, or unto your counsell, who, I dowte not, can and will very diligently doo the same; and can, moreover, enforme your Majeste and your said counsell touching that naughty person Dudley, who was suffred to escape out of the castell of Millan, in the apprehension of whom the said beyrer toke right great peanes and labour." [p. 487],

And here ends this strange eventful story. I cannot learn anything more of George Dudley.

NOTE H, p. 29.

In a despatch from Surrey and the council of Boulogne, to Henry VIII., dated "Boulonge, this 8th January, 1545," after describing a skirmiah before that town, it is stated:—

"Further, whereas Mr. Henry Dudley was one of those of the furste rancke that gave the unsett upon thenmyes, and as a man for his knowledge, hart, and of good service; it may like your highness to be his good and gracious lord, that whereas Mr. Poynynges, late capitayne of your Majesties Guarde here, is deceased, if your Highness shall thinke hym able to succede hym in that rome, at our humble intercession to admit hym therto,

if it may so stand with your most gracious pleasure." [State Papers of Hen. VIII., vol. 2].

This probably was Henry, the second son of lord Quondam. Some doubt, however, arises from the Duke of Northumberland having two sons of the name Henry. The first of whom is stated to have died at the siege of Boulogne; and the second slain at the siege of St. Quintin, in 1557. [See Biog. Brit., *voce* John Dudley]. There is no doubt, however, of his being the Henry Dudley, connected with the plot mentioned in the text, and it appears that, after the death of Mary, he returned to England, and obtained the patronage of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, who would, doubtless, be glad to acknowledge him as a cousin, that he might the better strengthen his claim to be a descendant of the Sutton family. "To such extent (says Adlard) was this patronage carried, that the jealousy of Sir William Cecil, was excited, in opposing the the contemplated marriage of Leicester with the Queen, in 1566, when he assigned as one of his reasons:—

"III. He shall study nothing but to enhans his own particular Frends to welth, to offices, to lands; and to offend others."

Among others enumerated is "Henry Dudley," whom Mr. Adlard identifies as the son of the lord Quondam. [Adlard's Sutton-Dudleys].

NOTE I, p. 45.

The following particulars are interesting, showing the character of the man, and of the times in which he lived:—

Dud Dudley was born *anno* 1599, and "at twenty years old, was fetched from Oxford, then of Bayliol Colledge, *anno* 1619, to look over and manage three ironworks of his fathers, one furnace, and two forges, in the Chase of Pensnet in Worcestershire." Having succeeded in his experiments in "making iron with pit-coal, and sea-coal," and "the quality good and profitable," his father, lord Edward Dudley, obtained a patent for it, from James the First, as above mentioned.

In his work called "Metallum Martis," published in 1665, a few years after the return of Charles the Second, the author gives an interesting account of his inventions; the opposition he met with from rival ironmasters; the losses he incurred from the destruction of his works in a great flood; and the troubles he encountered from his political opponents during the civil war.

The following petitions give further particulars of his political career:—

1660, June. Petition of Col. Dud Dudley, to the King for

restoration to the place of Serjeant-at-Arms, Lieut. of Ordnance, or Surveyor of the Mews or Armory, all of which he held under the late king; also for the grant of the house of Baldwin, a known traitor, at Worcester; that of Alderman Nash was granted him by the late king, because he gave up his own for the armory, but Nash has become a convert, so he cannot have it. Served the late king, and, at length, became Major; furnished the artillery train at Coventry, furnished Worcester and Stafford with ordnance, &c., was taken in Colchester, stripped and carried prisoner to Worcester; escaped and was retaken and sent to the gatehouse, and sentenced to be shot, but escaped the day before."

He obtained a grant of the office of Serjeant at Arms, in ordinary. [*Docquet Book*, p. 3], but some delay occurring in the completion of the patent, the following petition was forwarded :—

1660, August 26. Petition of Col Dud Dudley to the king. Was employed by the late king in Scotland; Lost his estate of £200 a year in land, with stock, ironworks, &c., value £2000; served in the artillery, for which his sickly wife was turned out of doors, his men taken ; one of them, Major Harcourt, miserably burnt with matches, and he stripped and carried in scorn to Worcester, which he had fortified as general of artillery; was kept under double guard, but escaped, and, being pursued, took to trees in the day time, and travelling in the night got to London, was retaken, brought before the committee of insurrections, sent to the Gatehouse, sentenced to be shot, but escaped with Sir Henry Bates and nine others, during sermon time, though opposed by four gaolers; lived three weeks in an enemy's hay-mow, went on crutches to Bristol, and escaped. Had the first warrant after his Majesty's landing, for the place of Serjeant-at-Arms, but wants to be sworn in, as others are passing their patents who had them late.

Annexing.

I. *Detail of part of the services and sufferings of Col. Dudley*, 1637—1648." [Domestic Series of State Papers of Chas. the 2nd, 1660-1661. Edited by Mary Ann Green].

He was buried at St. Helen's Church at Worcester, October the 25th, 1684, where a large monument was fixed to the south wall to himself, and his wife Eleanor, daughter of Francis Heaton. A copy of the inscription is given in the appendix to Nash's Worcestershire, vol. 2, and is copied in Mr. Bagnall's edition of Dud Dudley's Metallum Martis.

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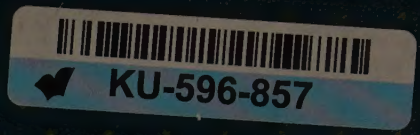
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